25 cents

THE BLACK PANTHER

Black Community News Service

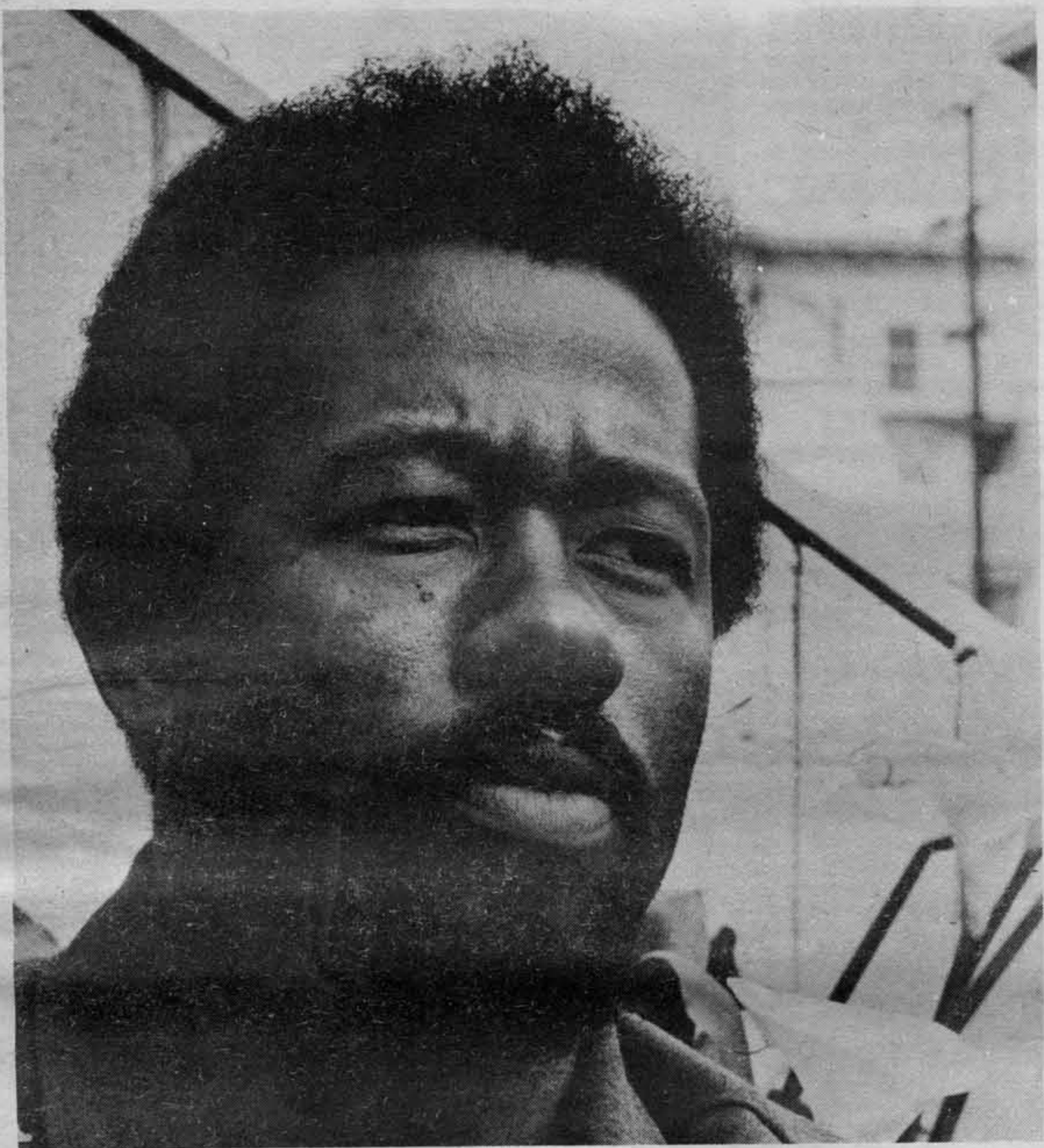
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Huey Must Be Set Free



'SOUL ON ICE'

Remember Brother Malcolm



MALCOLM

in white america

We took the country by violence, in the days when we were still a colony. With muskets and booze, we wrested and defrauded the land away from the Indians.

We shot our way West. We killed off the animals. We killed off the tribes we could not "pacify." Then we began killing each other off, until federal troops had to be called into many towns.

We took Texas by force in the Mexican War that was so unjust that even Lincoln opposed our brutal actions there.

We refused to let the Confederate States secede, though they had both a legal and a moral right to do so — and we plunged the nation into four years of the bloodiest fratricide ever known to man.

We fabricated the Spanish-American War, won it by sheer weight of arms, and started an empire of sorts.

We dropped the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, even though there was no military justification for doing so, and the war against Japan was already won without this hideous act of violence.

★ ★ ★

WE HAVE BEEN involved in more than 100 wars, aggressions, and military actions since we shot our way to independence in 1776.

We have hanged, burned, gassed and electrocuted thousands of our citizens who broke the law — and what is capital punishment but a calculated act of violence by the state?

We have broken all the world's records for every category of homicide from manslaughter to murder in the 20th Century.

There are more homicides in New York City in one month than in all of Great Britain in an entire year.

There are more guns privately owned in the U.S. than in the whole rest of the world put together.

We are, and have been for a long time, the biggest law-breaking nation in the world, in almost every category of crime — and especially in crimes of violence, in attacks against persons.

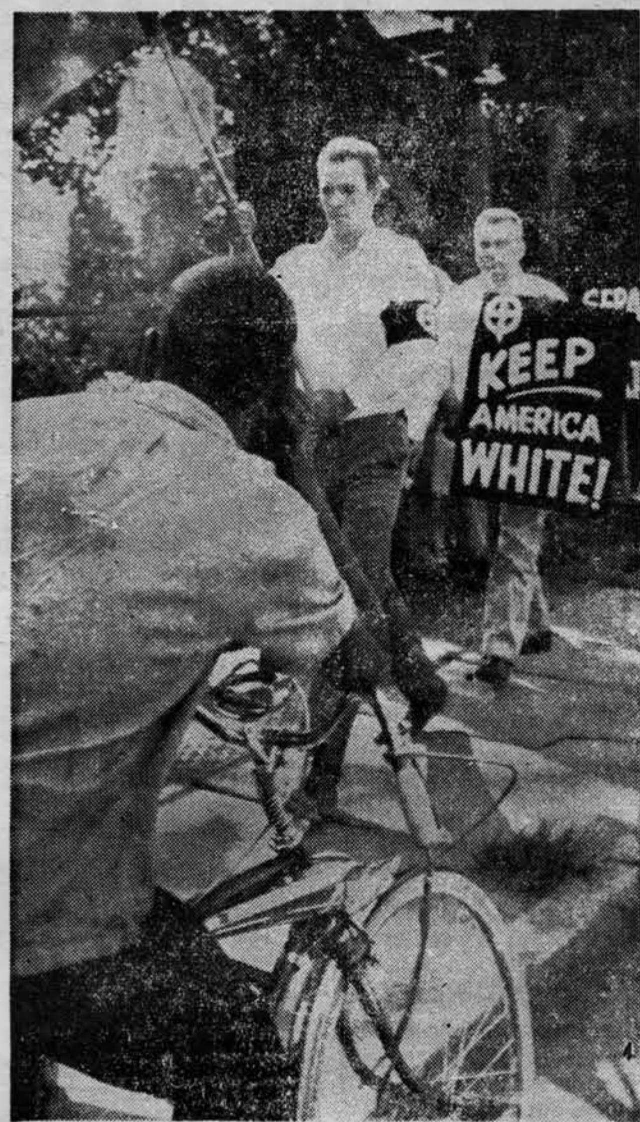
★ ★ ★

NOW WE ARE WORRIED about "crime in the streets." As if it were something new. But the only thing new is that the Negro is following the example of the whites.

We have gained, and kept, what we have by raw power. We have been "peace-loving" when it paid, and violent when it did not.

This is the example we have provided, while telling ourselves sanctimonious lies about our sweetness and goodness and essential decency.

Now some of our chickens are coming home to roost. And how will we deal with them? By violence, of course. In the good old tradition.



March of Foolishness and Death

In a few days the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will lead a march on the Capitol of Racist America, Washington, DC. The march will be composed of largely Black, Mexican, Indian and Chinese - Americans. The march, which was created by the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is titled The Poor People's March. The marchers will come from all over White America to sit in on the capitol until legislation for all black, brown, red, yellow people undergoes drastic change, and with it this decadent society. They say that they will not leave the capitol until they receive their total civil rights (human god-given rights).

The SCLC and its marcher-followers are definitely going about their fight for justice in the wrong manner. Marches in the past for black people's human rights have been totally unsuccessful. The only thing that blacks have received has been murder, brutality, degradation, and castration. Marches, sit-ins, lay-ins, and sleep-ins only show a lack of integrity and pride on the parts of exploited, colonialized, oppressed blacks in America.

A CHUMP CAN SIT

The march led by Dr. King for higher wages for garbage men in Memphis, Tennessee, proved to be disastrous and fatal for the black people involved. Brothers and sisters were gunned down like animals and spontaneous revolts broke out as a result of both the demonstration and assassination. When blacks march their objective is one with an end obtained by negative means. By being nonviolent, they are unarmed and unprotected from the racist police and armed forces, as well as white citizens. This is a proven absurd and suicidal way to go about changing black people's conditions. Brother Malcolm X says that "a chump can sit, a dog can sit, an old woman can sit...It's time for us to do some standing and some fighting to back that up."

LAST MARCH A CIRCUS

The last March on Washington was turned into a circus by the white power structure and its lackeys. The power structure picked the speakers; they decided what was to be said. They even went as far as to tell the black people what they could do at the March which was nothing more than holding hands with honkeys and singing We Shall Overcome; and, to top that off, told them when to leave the capitol. The leaders of the March met with the power structure and were told to keep those "niggers" from anything other than nonviolent action, meaning no rioting and no burning, nor anyone busting in on their lily white Capitol or Congressional buildings. Each of the leaders, Dr. King, Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins, Bayard Rustin were paid three-quarters of a million dollars for their performances.

MASSACRE OR REBELLION

The poor People's March will evolve into one or two things: (1) a racist massacre of thousands of innocent black people, or (2) a violent confrontation - a bloody race rebellion.

It is a known fact that the power structure does not want a march on Washington that will demand them to change their ways; so we can expect the racist armed forces of the racist government to provoke the marchers as well as brutalize, intimidate, harass, and murder them.

The March will be the last dying voice of non-violence. After the death of Martin Luther King, blacks began to realize that nonviolence cannot fight a system which is built around violence and destruction and oppression. More black people are awakening and they understand that the only way we shall receive our freedom is by organized arms and force. A Mexican-American, Rudolfo Gonzales, leader of the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado, who is participating in the march said: "The Mexican - American is no longer willing to stand in a church with his hat in his hand waiting for a priest to bless him and God to save him. They want us to believe power doesn't grow out of the barrel of a gun. Well, we're giving them their chance."

MARCH TO GENOCIDE

The Black Panther Party refuses to back these beggars' rites. We understand the position of this mad-dog society and how they are conspiring to wipe out thousands of innocent black people who are participating in this ridiculous march.

During the reign of Adolf Hitler, the Jews marched to the gas chambers thinking they were to be cleaned and showered. Unaware blacks believe they are marching toward freedom while in actuality they are going peacefully to the first stage of mass genocide in 1968. O

BALDWIN, SEALE, ECKELS TALK REVOLUTION

About 300 people showed up at St. Augustine's church Thursday nite to hear James Baldwin, Rev. John Eckles and Chairman Bobby Seale discuss their roles in the Black Liberation Movement.

Baldwin eased out early in the evening when he said, "For a long time I did not know what to say to people younger than I. I didn't want to send a generation into the streets to die, but on the other hand, I didn't have the right to ask this generation to stay in its houses and be slaughtered; and those were the alternatives." His vague position was in sharp contrast to the others who were very much together on what to do and how to do it.

John Eckles began his gutsy comments, "We've got to have a clear understanding of our problem and we've got to move correctly. We have been messed over with a capital F. Any movement that doesn't take thinking in mind, is a bowel movement." Eckles stated later, "A Black writer must be against the State because the State is against us. The State must prove itself, improve itself or die."

Chairman Seale related the Black Panther Party program to the conditions of Black people in America. "A young black man who moves after living in the confines of a racist, decadent situation comes to a point to try to relieve himself of the oppressed condition he lives in. This very organization (the Black Panther Party) comes from the cries and the needs of the black community ...it lays out a program and a platform that black people have cried out for, for 400 years." In spelling out the responsibilities of a black person, Chairman Seale says, "One must deal (with) and educate himself around those specific things that affect his life to begin to see and understand the revolution in the first place."

MESSED UP MINDS

All three men agreed that the worst damage done to black people in the white mother country, was the psychological damage by the racists. "We have inherited a sick framework," said John Eckles. "This is hell, not in the afterlife, but now. We must have a new ethic, not of right and wrong but of weak and strong; of what is necessary and what is not necessary. There is no such thing as good and evil if you are a slave in white racist system. It bothers me to hear us talk about our uncle Toms; our uncle Toms have been made by the white system. Let's help to save our uncle Toms and make them into black men. We must get our minds back; we must make our minds black!"

James Baldwin noted, "We have been in the ghetto for all these hundreds of years, simply because the man (the pig, Charlie, etc.) wanted us there. It was not because they thought my child could not read or write or that my daughter could not become a beautiful woman, it is because they knew very well that my son could read and write and my daughter could become a beautiful woman that it was very important (for them) to destroy in every black child's mind that possibility. This is the real crime; a greater crime than all the lynchings, bombing and burnings."

GETTING UPTIGHT

In giving a program of action Bobby Seale stated, "...when you read an essay, when you read Fanon, when you read Mao, when you read any kind of material; it is necessary to go out there and work and apply." The Black Panther Party, is, he went on "a political party that lays out a program and a platform and outlines the goals and needs of black people as they have screamed them for 400 years, and actively participates in trying to produce this. This is what a revolution is all about. A revolution is all black people organizing and going out and doing what needs to be done to begin to answer the basic political needs of the community."

James Baldwin, in speaking of the Panthers said, "...Bobby talked about going in the ghetto and dealing with the cats in the ghetto who say 'I can dig it!'; that is already a revolution...(and it's) the reason that the structure of this country is so frightened." Baldwin also confessed, "I'm not sure I'm a good revolutionary; I'm a writer in a revolutionary situation. I do what I do, I know what I have." John Eckles felt that action was indicated, "We must organize (like the Panthers) with them or alongside them."

A NATION OF SAVAGES

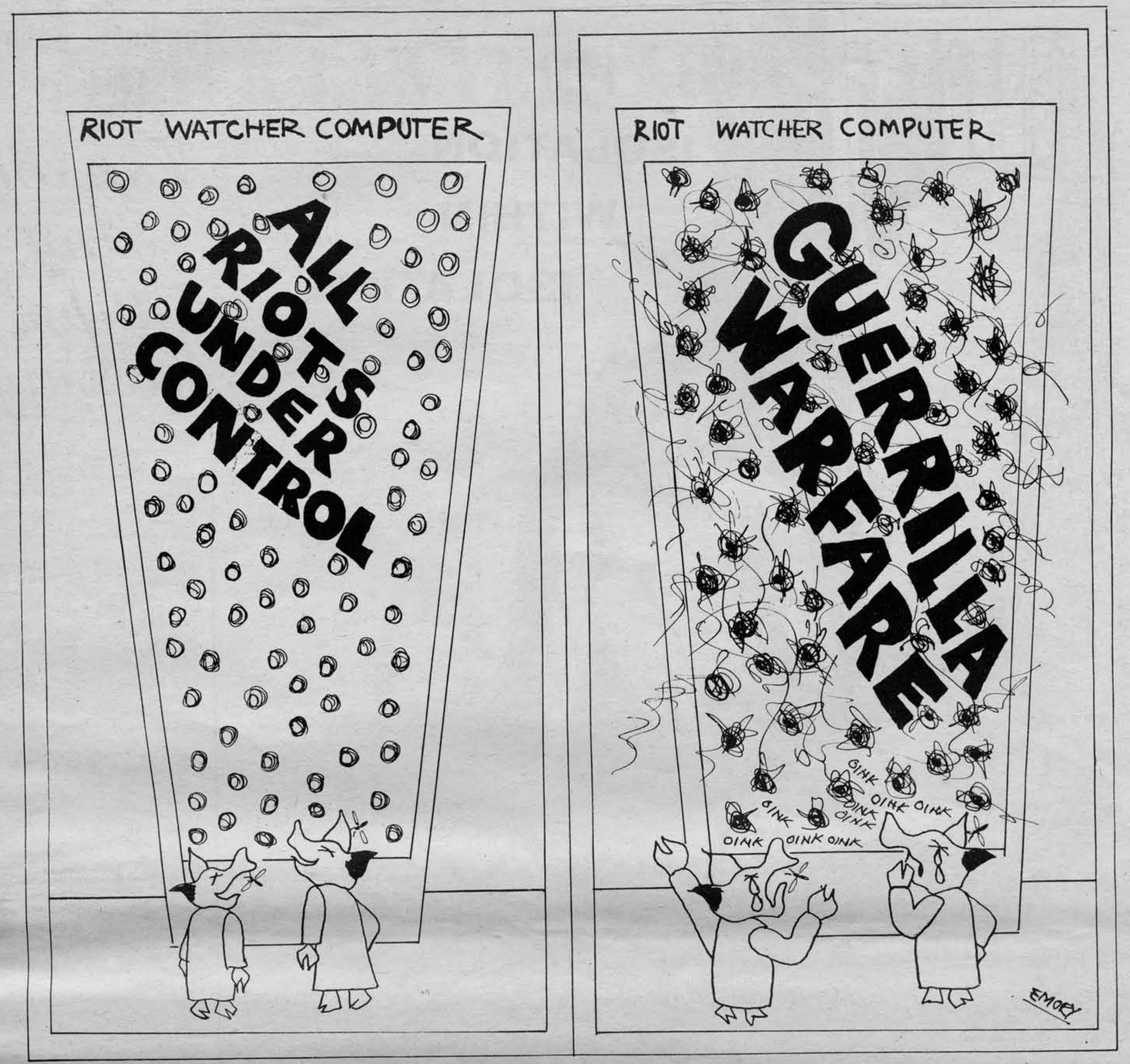
Baldwin runs down how it is, "The way a black cat gets into trouble, is not by saying anything really, all he has to do is walk around as though he thought he had a right to be on earth. From that moment, that black cat is a marked man...." "What began years ago as a non-violent civil rights movement has transformed itself into what it has become today...through a record of assassinations which would shame (as Frederick Douglass would have put it) a nation of savages - and no culprit has yet been found. ...what's happening in this country is that the record is in; the bill is in and no one can any longer lie about the total. ...The force which was first released by black people in this country began to release energy in white people too.

"Sacramento would not merely be worried about Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, it is worried about all those other kids who don't want to grow up to be like Ronald Reagan or LBJ or Hubert Humphrey or Doris Day. No tyranny," he continues, "is blind to the hint of insurrection." He concludes, "When I go, that is, the black man, then everybody else goes too; you're next."

John Eckles summarizes, "The whole society is predicated on our supression. ...we must know what truth is and not white truth. ...we have been weak - now we're talking about strength. We must survive! ...most of us are still becoming black, if we were black, we probably wouldn't be here, we'd be out fighting, defending ourselves." Eckles concludes with words from one of his poems, "let us not wait; agitate..." Chairman Seale relates a story about Huey Newton and the beginning of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense whose conclusion is: "We're organizing an organization where we're going to righteously have a revolution; we're gonna start changing our situation and our position (because that's the beginning of a revolution) and the racist pigs and the racists in this country who are brutalizing and murdering us - we're gonna defend ourselves against them with righteous organized guns and force...."

In replying to a question asking how he related religion to the liberation movement John Eckles said, "...religion to me means freeing people's bodies and minds and souls. Nat Turner was a preacher and that's the kind of preacher I am."

cont.p. 25, col. 2



Computers to Watch Riots

people: get ready

Two computers located in the justice department will become the nerve centers of federal riot watching activities. The computers are stuffed with data on more than 10 cities and uncounted individuals and groups. Operation of the computer capabilities is the responsibility of the newly created Intelligence Unit, nicknamed the "war room" operation.

Principle source of intelligence data will come from f.b.i. reports. Federal prosecutors, police, community relation services, and mailmen will be the operation's eyes and ears, in their localities. Mid March has been marked as the target date for making the computer system fully operational. One of the computers is located in the justice department basement and the other in a small room above the attorney general's office.

Special army-teams have fanned out all over the country to coordinate anti-riot planning with state and city officials. The planning entails such things as street maps, aerial photos, areas of military responsibility, military action in conjunction with local, state and national guard units, detailed information on communication nets and proposed command posts and emergency camp sites.

A government research organization has recommended that the national guard take over a major share of riot control duties. The institute of defense analyses, one of the private "think tanks" engaged in research for the defense department, also recommended a thorough investigation of an assortment of weapons that could be used in the control of "rioters." Some of the weapons discussed were:

1. Chemical Mace---an aerosol can that releases heavy droplets of tear gas or other chemicals at a range of 8 to 20 feet. Mace does not require a direct hit to be effective. It is able to incapacitate a person for 15 to 20 minutes and is effective almost instantaneously. (*The IDA report said that chemical agents represent "the single most promising avenue for the development of new, effective and useful police weapons.")

2. Foam---a high-volume generator for mob control which can lay down a five foot layer of foam the width of a 200 feet street in 10 minutes to direct crowds and block traffic.

3. Barbed Tape---the army has developed what it calls an "anti personnel obstacle" about the size of three staked shoe boxes. When set in the street and activated, it releases eight reels of barbed steel tape that might be useful in blocking streets and enforcing curfews.

4. Paint Guns---a gas powered pistol now used for marking trees or animals with paint which might be applied to mark individuals in a crowd for later identification. Dyes and markers that show up only under special lights or can be detected by police dogs or chemical means are being investigated.

5. Dart and Injector Weapons---as developed at present, dart and hypodermic guns are now used to tranquilize animals. The same operational principle could be applied to human application.

6. Cattle Prods---of the same type used against civil-rights demonstrators in the south.

7. Teflon---can be laid on the streets to make walking difficult.

8. Laser Beams, Heat Rays, and Ball Guns---to shock and stun the person.

9. Super Water Pistol---that sprays a pepper solution.

The institute also recommended that a central research agency be established to develop new techniques and to establish weapon standards.

Former secretary of defense, McNamara, has authorized an increase in the national guard of 12,000 additional men who will be used for riot-control duty. The men will be organized into approximately 125 units of company and detachment size (200 men).

Top army leaders announced that the army and national guard forces were prepared for any riot or other disorder in the cities this summer. Gen. Harold Johnson, army chief of staff, said that "the active army has 15,000 men who make up seven task forces, each of brigade size, specifically earmarked and available for civil disturbance duty." Enough radio sets to equip two infantry divisions are being prepositioned, one of the positions is centrally located on the east coast, and the other is on the west coast.▽

HOTLINE....

ITEM: San Leandro, Ca. Police force in this small suburb outside of Oakland have a "SHOOT TO KILL" policy. Following the lead of Chicago Mayor Daley the police force is pushing the City Council to back the "SHOOT TO KILL" policy with the legal assistance of William Ahern, attorney for police, who was formerly assistant district attorney for Alameda County.

COMMENT: Even though San Leandro has little or no black population, and there has been no rioting or looting, suburban white policemen, of the same stock as Oakland urban pigs, feel the desperate itch to legalize murder. Even the Mayor of San Leandro termed it "an open invitation to come into San Leandro and start trouble and see if they can get something by force."

* * *

ITEM: Mexico City 4/18/68. Eleven farmers and four policemen were killed in a village celebration that ended in a gun battle. The Independent Farmers' Federation was having a party when police, who said their presence was for guarding the celebrations, "erred" in believing the fireworks were shots being fired at them by the farmers. Supposedly when the police began shooting, the farmers fired back.

The Federation said police working for large landowners gunned down its members deliberately.

COMMENT: The pattern remains, the pace quickens: Police all over the world, will kill in cold blood those who dare to challenge the power structure. Acting as the special agents of the monied interests of the State and big business, police continue to oppress, brutalize, maim, and murder. The pattern must be stopped. Only 13% of the world's population is subjecting and oppressing the other 87% and it isn't by mistake that the oppressors are white and the oppressed are peoples of color throughout Black America, Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

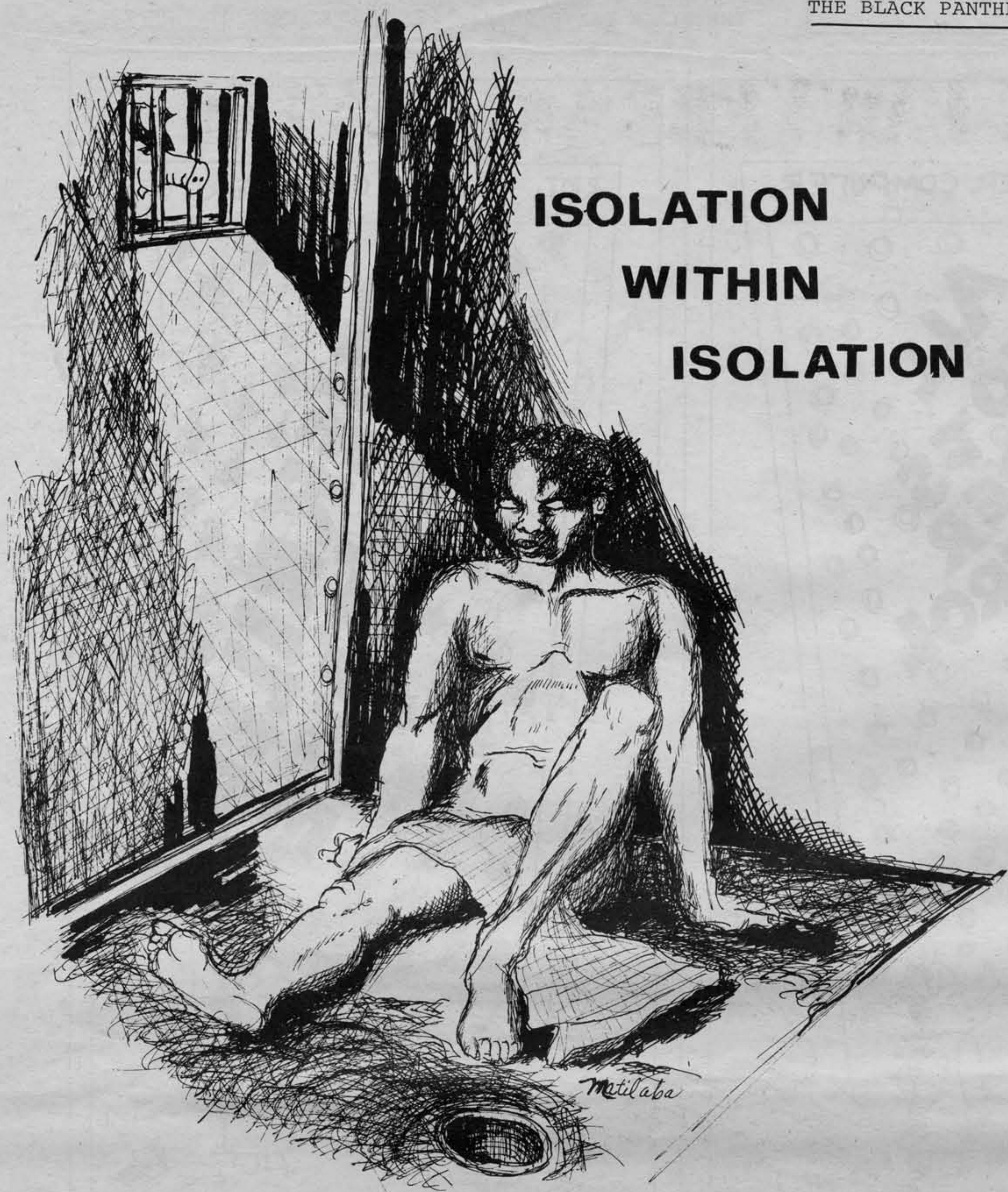
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ITEM: The federal government gave General Motors $56 million dollars for the production of 26 million M-16 rifles, to be used in the wars in Viet Nam and Black America.

COMMENT: The government has long declared war on black citizens in America, as evidenced by their troops in our communities and the extensive weaponry primarily for the murder and brutalization of black ghetto residents.

Their relationship with General Motors is only one more indication of the oppressive hook-up between the economy and the government to keep blacks deprived of their basic human rights just as there are hook-ups between the government and all the other institutions in this country, such as the educational system (Colombia U) or organized religion (Billy Graham). ▽

ISOLATION WITHIN ISOLATION



The "Hole"

JAILS ARE THE FIRST BLACK CONCENCENTRATION CAMPS

Charles Bursey, political prisoner

Charles Bursey is a black political prisoner in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California. Although he is physically imprisoned, his spirit is out. Even though he was sick, he took time to write us and show all of us what's happening in there:

I was sitting in the bullpen, and I was concerned anout not seeing a doctor on the morning of April 24th. When an officer passed by, I said "Officer" but he kept on walking, so I said "Okay" and then he came back and took me to the hole and made me take off all of my clothes. The officer took the mattress outside and locked the door. That night they brought me some water for dinner and gave me the mattress back.

The next morning on the 25th, they came back about 6 AM and took the blanket and mattress. I was in the hole in the nude. I asked the officer for something for my cold, and he said that I would have to wait until the next day. I asked for some aspirin, and he said "no" and slammed the door. They came back in about an hour with one half a dixie cup of something that looked like corn meal mush that no one could eat, and I told them to take it back. About 12:30 or 1 PM, they came back with some green mush looking stuff, and I ate a spoonful andthrew it up, so I told them to take it back because it made me sicker than I already was.

About 5 or 6 PM, on the 25th, they took me downstairs to another hole that was bare with a hole in the floor for a toilet. I was still in the nude, and the hole was cold. They did not bring me any water that night. They brought me one-half of a torn up mattress and three torn blanketsaabout 7:30 or 8 PM that night.

On the 26th, in the morning, about 6 AM, they came and took one blanket and the mattress. I then asked to see the doctor, and the officers said they would tell him that. Around 10:30 or 11 AM, the doctor came, and I told him about the cold and sinus problem that I had had for about two weeks.

cont. pg. 26 col. 1

For Huey, Bobby, Eldridge

Free By Any Means Necessary

The pen
is a weapon;
it can discharge
volleys of
meaning
hurled toward
the bull's eye
of truth;

it can deafen
the ear with
the roar of
a people's voice
clamoring for
justice.

It can kill
lies emitted
in ink from
oppressor's presses
making beasts
of holy men
justifying
their slaughters

Black people
righteous men,
throw away
those water pistols
what we need
are stoners to
riddle America's
bastions of
bigotry

which have
kept the black
man back
the poor people
poor
the dispossessed
and isolated
estranged from
the mainstream
of life.

The pen
has always
been a white
weapon; it
must be wrested
from the oppressor's
hands by
black power.

It must blast
forth the fire
of black
consciousness,
creating new images
of our people,
by our people,
for our people;

the black panthers
are the holy men
of our time;
they are the
last practitioners
of the judeo-christian
ethic - all others
have turned their
priesthoods into a mafia
protecting, not man
but status quo.

Free Huey
Free American justice

Free Leroi
Free creativity & art

Free Rap
Free free speech

Free Bobby
Free love, respect and power

Free Eldridge
Free our souls on ice

Free black panthers,
Free humanism
Free black men
Free goodness & honor
Free Hue, now,
and Free us all.

Sarah Webster Fabio

BLACK LAWYERS ARE JIVING

press release from the black panther party

The attack made upon the BLACK PANTHER PARTY by Black Lawyers, when they tried to criticize CHARLES R. GARRY about his acceptance of HUEY P. NEWTON'S case is in fact nothing but a brewing of black racism. Black people know they are black and these middle-class bourgeois lawyers, who have in fact, been exploiting and selling black people out in the area of legal defense, along with other RACIST WHITE LAWYERS. They think that they have the right to speak for the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and are wrong in the eyes of members of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY. John D. George is not interested in Huey's freedom, but in fact, is interested in using Huey as a stepping stone to attain higher paying political positions.

I, Bobby Seale, know for a fact, when without my knowledge, John D. George, who was handling three misdemeanor cases for me, sold me out by waiving a jury trial for me, where I would possibly be railroaded off into jail. He did this February 1, 1968 and I myself had to argue in court later to see that I received a jury trial. A clear cut case of a black lawyer selling out black people. He has been one of the advocates and foolish black racists running around talking about we should have a black lawyer. HUEY P. NEWTON'S life is in danger and these ignorant, stupid, life-sucking, petty-minded fools, who call themselves black lawyers have done nothing but harm the black community. The first thing they can do, those so-called black lawyers, is to begin filing massive appeals for every black brother in prison and stop running around here with liberal campaigns trying to trick the black community to vote for them. In fact, the best thing they can do is to form a BLACK PANTHER PARTY LAWYERS ASSOCIATION and arm themselves with guns and defend the black community.

Anytime a lawyer, be he black or white, will follow through in opposing the white power structure, we can clearly see that it is necessary to judge a man by what he does. I do not believe that one black lawyer in the area, with their comfortable middle-class positions would have filed a federal suit against the City of Oakland. Therefore, we will maintain our legal defense by CHARLES R. GARRY, regardless of this incipient black racism portrayed by so-called black lawyers. WHICH ONE OF YOU BLACK LAWYERS WILL BE THE FIRST TO COME FORTH AND ACCEPT THE CASE OF THE BLACK PANTHER BENJAMIN F. WATKINS.



THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK LAWYERS

At the recently held lawyers conference, RACISM IN THE LAW, the black lawyers present disgraced themselves by stooping to a snide attack on the Black Panther Party by condemning our selection of attorneys purely on the basis of race. The Black Panther Party is not a racist organization, but a political party dedicated to the liberation of black people. We have stated publically on many occasions that it is not the color of a person's skin that we hate, but the oppressive conditions we live in. Our Ten Point Program is the goal of our party, outlining the basic desires and needs of the black community. The Black Panther Party is a political organization for the black colony, functioning in the black colony, and only members of the black colony can join. However, we have never at any time refused, and in fact we have encouraged, technical assistance from the mother country. Our position has always been that the duty of mother country radicals and supporters is to assist our program.

The black bourgeoisie, which black lawyers and professionals represent, has been singularly reluctant and unwilling to assist the development of our political party. Since the founding of the Black Panther Party in 1966, the assistance from the educated, employed, skilled, and affluent segments of the black community has been minimal. When the assistance of black attorneys was most needed, they were silent. As members of a class that has been most actively perpetuating class distinctions within the black community, and has done nothing to destroy racism or alleviate the racist exploitation in the black community, we feel the black attorneys are not in a position to attack the Black Panther Party on any level, but should in fact examine their own actions and begin to find ways of better serving the needs of the black community. The Black Panther Party does not deal in images or in color, but with the reality of the oppression and exploitation we must suffer.

This consistent whine from the black attorneys concerning the employment by the Black Panther Party of Charles R. Garry to handle the case of Huey P. Newton began long ago and has now reached ridiculous proportions. The following article was written in response to their complaints last year, and it loses nothing in its relevance with the passage of time.

BLACK POWER, BLACK LAWYERS, and WHITE COURTS

by Kathleen Cleaver

Black power would never be attained if the burden of achieving it were in the hands of black lawyers. The number of black lawyers instrumental in moving to gain black power is very small -- in the entire span of Afro-America, I know of four who are prominent in the struggle: Floyd McKissack, national director of CORE, Howard Moore, Jr., General Counsel for SNCC, C. B. King of Southwest Georgia, one of the best trial lawyers in this country, and William Patterson, author of WE CHARGE GENOCIDE and attorney for the Scottsboro boys. Undoubtedly there are others that I do not know of, working in their own ways for the liberation of black people. But again, their number is small compared to the number of black lawyers working for the aggrandisement of their personal wealth and prestige, which within the racist and exploitative legal structure of America means bootlicking.

Black lawyers in general have not distinguished themselves in the radical protest movement of their people opening with the sit-ins in 1960 nor in the liberation struggle opening with the cry for Black Power in 1966. Black lawyers have not made common cause nor identified themselves with black peoples' struggle for freedom and human rights as a general rule -- and when they have, the concern for money was primary. Black lawyers have expended the bulk of their energies attempting to gain entry into the fringes of the white power structure and becoming an elite class, with elite tastes, elite possessions, elite prestige, and functioning as black elitist exploiters of their people. To participate in and cooperate with a social, economic, and legal structure based on the exploitation of black people is to assist the denial of liberty, dignity, and opportunity to black people as a whole, even if the particular individual doing so is black and benefits personally from the participation and cooperation.

During the non-violent stage of the resistance movement, black lawyers did not rush to defend the jailed students and freedom fighters. During the voter registration campaigns waged in the south by SCLC, CORE, and SNCC, black lawyers rarely offered assistance -- and legal assistance during these phases of the resistance movement was a primary and crucial factor, for the people were struggling to make the system conform to its legal principles. Thousands of people were jailed and beaten and denied their rights, but the bulk of the legal work was done by white lawyers, regardless of whether or not they could be paid. During the rebellions that have broken out in black communities all over Afro-America, black lawyers have again turned up shaky, sometimes the same black lawyers who were willing to assist in the non-violent movement, for a price, of course. A case in point is Attorney Alexander Lubby in Nashville, Tennessee, who refused to begin processing the case of four black men charged with possession of explosives during the Nashville student rebellion until he had received the retainer fee of $200 each.

Black lawyers concern for the black people involved in the freedom struggle has been very, very minimal, most of the people being either poor people or young people, neither having large financial resources. Many were afraid to take cases because of their political ramifications which their precariously elite position couldn't tolerate. The vast bulk of legal service given to the struggle has come from white lawyers dedicated to the establishment of social justice, and the vast bulk of that legal service has gone unpaid and unacclaimed. The Lawyers Constitutional Defense Fund (LCDC), the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), the INC. Fund, formerly associated with the NAACP, are all groups of lawyers organized and staffed almost entirely by white lawyers for the defense of freedom fighters. Marian Wright, a sister, works with the Inc. Fund in Jackson, Mississippi; other black lawyers are conspicuous by their absense. James Forman, Stokely Carmichael, and Rap Brown of SNCC have all been indebted to the services of white lawyers -- without too much complaint from the black lawyers or the black community. Neither has there been much of an outcry from Muhammed Ali's use of white lawyers in his draft case. However, all of a sudden in the Bay Area, an outcry has been raised about the fact that Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton has a white lawyer.

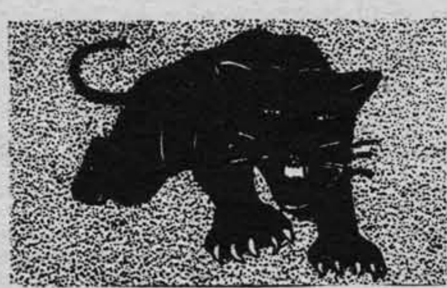
The Black Panther Party, more than anyone else involved, sincerely wishes there were a black lawyer that would handle this case with the political understanding and total dedication with which it must be handled. We recognize in this cry for a black lawyer a call for black unity from certain elements of the community; however, the black lawyer willing to take the stand of the Black Panther Party and defend it in court has yet to come forward.

It is not clear where this outcry originated, but black lawyers, I know for a fact, are not guiltless. It is also not quite clear what the basis for the complaint is, for this is not the first time that the Black Panther Party has had to use the services of white lawyers, by default of the black lawyers, who for reasons of either prestige, politics, or pocketbook, could not take or keep a Panther case.

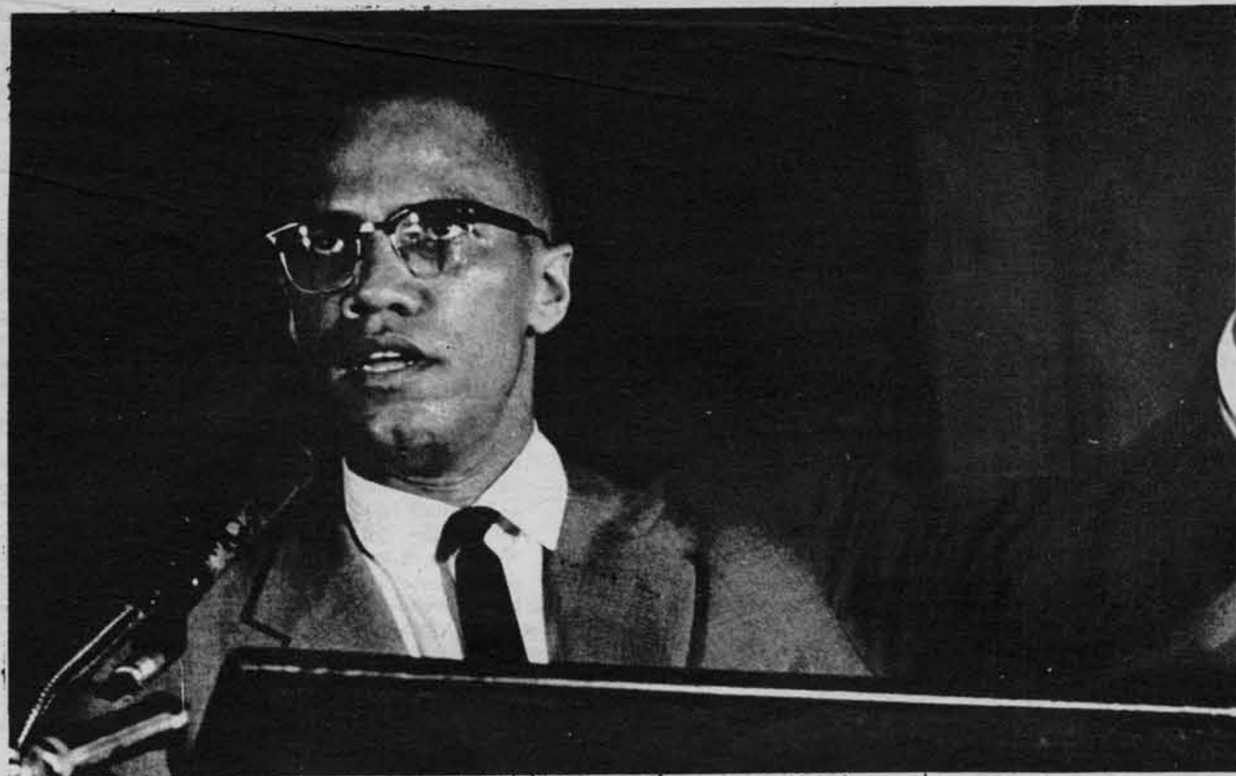
When the Minister of Defense was lying on his back in Kaiser Hospital with a gunshot wound in his stomach, John George, a black lawyer who has taken many Panther cases and is a friend of Huey's, went to the hospital and attempted to see him but the police did not allow his visit. Another attorney who has also helped the Panthers, Beverly Axelrod, obtained a court order to allow her to visit Huey when police refused to allow her to see him. Mrs. Axelrod is white. Both attorneys offered to do whatever they could to help, but realized the case would be too much for them to handle. The present attorney, Charles R. Garry, was recommended as the best criminal lawyer in the state; the recommendation was confirmed in consultation with William Patterson, an outstanding black attorney who worked on the cases of the

cont. p. 13, col. 5

REMEMBER THE WORDS OF



BROTHER MALCOLM



PAY HOMAGE TO BROTHER MALCOLM ON MAY 19 – 20
DO NOT GO TO WORK
DO NOT GO TO SCHOOL



. . . THE ONLY PLACE WHERE ACTION CAN TAKE PLACE IS ON THE GROUND. AND THE WHITE MAN CAN'T WIN ANOTHER WAR FIGHTING ON THE GROUND. THOSE DAYS ARE OVER. THE BLACK MAN KNOWS IT, THE BROWN MAN KNOWS IT, THE RED MAN KNOWS IT, AND THE YELLOW MAN KNOWS IT. SO THEY ENGAGE HIM IN GUERRILLA WARFARE. THAT'S NOT HIS STYLE. YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE HEART TO BE A GUERRILLA WARRIOR, AND HE HASN'T GOT ANY HEART. .. IN CONVENTIONAL WARFARE YOU HAVE TANKS AND A WHOLE LOT OF OTHER PEOPLE WITH YOU TO BACK YOU UP, PLANES OVER YOUR HEAD AND ALL THAT KIND OF STUFF. BUT A GUERRILLA IS ON HIS OWN. . .THE JAPANESE ON SOME OF THOSE ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC, WHEN THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS LANDED, ONE JAPANESE SOMETIMES COULD HOLD THE WHOLE ARMY OFF. HE'D JUST WAIT UNTIL THE SUN WENT DOWN, AND WHEN THE SUN WENT DOWN, THEY WERE ALL EQUAL. HE WOULD TAKE HIS LITTLE BLADE AND SLIP FROM

MILLIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE MAKING YOUR DREAMS COME TRUE

Born May 19, 1925

One of the most dynamic leaders of the black revolution was born on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska. At birth, he was named Malcolm Little - he rose to fame as Malcolm X. If it is true that psychological characteristics are hereditary, then Malcolm probably inherited his spirit from his father, the Reverend Earl Little, who was an avid disciple of Marcus Garvery.

RACISTS HARASS AND SET FIRE TO FAMILY HOME

The Little family was constantly harassed and threatened by Ku Klux Klan type organizations who resented Rev. Little's black nationalist associations. To lessen the effects of this harassment, Rev.Little moved his family to Lansing, Michigan, but he found no peace. His home in Lansing was set on fire by two white men who did not want Rev. Little to teach pride and dignity to the black people in Lansing. The white firemen of Lansing came to the fire, but made no efforts to put it out. Rev. Little moved his family into a new home in East Lansing and continued his teachin of black nationalism.

RACISTS BRUTALLY KILL MALCOLM'S MILITANT FATHER

Only death could stop Rev. Little in his determination. He was found lying on a streetcar track with his body cut nearly in half, and the side of his skull crushed. This was rumored to be the work of a white racist group called the Black Legionnaires.

The Little family was split up after state welfare agents hounded Malcolm's mother until she suffered a breakdown and was placed in a state hospital in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

SCHOOLING IN THE STREETS AND IN PRISON

Malcolm went from detention home to high school to Boston where he received his elementary education in street life - how to dress sharp, dance, etc.At 17, in New York, he did his graduate work in street life - selling dope, pimping ,con games, burglary and hustling in general. Malcolm went back to Boston where he was caught and sentenced to eight to ten years in prison when he was twenty years.old. Within the prison environment for seven years, Malcolm learned of the teachings of Elijah Muhammed, leader of the Black Muslims, and read everything he could get his hands on, especially books concerning race and black history. Realizing that his vocabulary was deficient, Malcolm started to study the dictionary. He started with the letter "A" and copied all of the words that he thought he would find useful. When he had gone through the "Z" section, he found that his reading comprehension had increased freatly, and he began to read even more. In 1952, when he was 27 years old, Malcolm earned his parole.

BECOMES MUSLIM ORGANIZER AND MINISTER

Upon his release, Malcolm travelled to Detroit to learn more about the Muslim religion. His devoutness and adherence to the Muslim codes earned him the position of assistant minister of the Detroit mosque. Malcolm visited Mr. Muhammed in Chicago whenever he had an opportunity and it did not take Mr. Muham-

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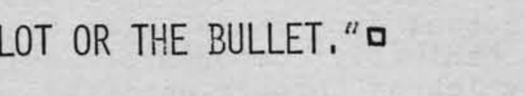
Assasinated Feb 21, 1965



BROTHER MALCOLM

cont. fr. last page

BUSH TO BUSH, AND FROM AMERICAN TO AMERICAN. THE WHITE SOLDIERS COULDN'T COPE WITH THAT. WHENEVER YOU SEE A WHITE SOLDIER THAT FOUGHT IN THE PACIFIC, HE HAS THE SHAKES, HE HAS A NERVOUS CONDITION, BECAUSE THEY SCARED HIM TO DEATH. . . THE SAME THING HAPPENED TO THE FRENCH UP IN FRENCH INDOCHINA. . . THIS IS THE DAY OF THE GUERRILLA. THEY DID THE SAME THING IN ALGERIA. . . NOWHERE ON THIS EARTH DOES THE WHITE MAN WIN IN A GUERRILLA WARFARE. IT'S NOT HIS SPEED. JUST AS GUERRILLA WARFARE IS PREVAILING IN ASIA AND IN PARTS OF AFRICA AND IN PARTS OF LATIN AMERICA, YOU'VE GOT TO BE MIGHTY NAIVE, OR YOU'VE GOT TO PLAY THE BLACK MAN CHEAP, IF YOU DON'T THINK SOME DAY HE'S GOING TO WAKE UP AND FIND THAT IT'S GOT TO BE THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET."▫



cont. fr. last page

med long to recognize Malcolm's talents. Malcolm was sent to Philadelphia to organize a mosque,and he did such a magnificent job that he was chosen to organize and lead a new mosque in New York. Because Malcolm was such an electrifying speaker, his popularity grew- and the Muslim religion grew with him. Malcolm is credited with lifting the Muslim religion from an unknown sect to a nationally-recognized institution. However, Malcolm always credited Elijah Muhammed for teaching him "everything he knew" and often prefixed his statements with " The Honorable Elijah Muhammed teaches us . . ."

INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY AFTER SEPARATION

Malcolm soon came to be recognized as the number two man in the Nation of Islam and the number one spokesman for the Nation, but he separated from the Nation after Mr. Muhammed forbade Malcolm to speak publicly for ninety days after Malcolm's speech saying that Kennedy's assassination was a case of "the chickens coming home to roost."

It was after his separation from the Nation of Islam that Malcolm became more an activist, and began to organize the struggle on an international level. He organized the Muslim Mosque Inc. in New York and started to work in organizing the Organization of Afro-American Unity which was to be patterned after the Organization of African Unity. While he was in the Muslims, Malcolm was often accused of being a racist because he spoke so frankly about the injustices that the white race has committed against the people of color in the world. When Malcolm was asked why he hated white people he replied that he did not hate white people - he hated no one for the color of their skin, he hated men for what was in their hearts. A white man once asked Malcolm if he would mind shaking a white man's hand, Malcolm answered, "I don't mind shaking hands with human beings. Are you one?"

In a second tour of Africa, Malcolm met with the heads of state of many African nations with the inteniton of gaining their support in the United Nations. Malcolm wanted to bring the plight of the black man in America before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. He was in attendance at the meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Cairo in 1964, and at this meeting, Malcolm submitted a memorandum urging the support of the member nations of the OAU in bringing the problem of black Americans before the United Nations.

ASSASSINATED BY CIA - UNABLE TO SPEAK AT UN

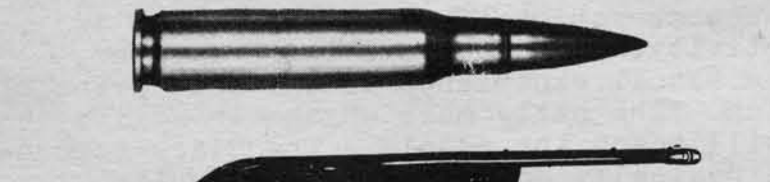
Malcolm was assassinated on February 21, 1965, before he was able to take a plea before the United Nations and expose the racism of the United States to the eyes and ears of oppressed nations and Third World people, the world over. He explained the connection between the black people of the United States and the United Nations this way:

"As long as our people wage a struggle for freedom and label it civil rights, it means that we are under the domestic jurisdiction of Uncle Sam continually, and no outside nation can make any effort whatsoever to help us. As soon as we lift it above civil rights to the level of human rights, the problem becomes internationalized;all of those who belong to the United Nation automatically can take sides with us and help us in condemning, at least charging, Uncle Sam with violation of our human rights."

To Malcolm we owe a debt of gratitude for making the nations of the world, and black people in America aware of our own problem. On February 21, 1965, this debt became overdue. It is past time for us to pay our debt to Malcolm and to collect the interest in the name of black men killed, assassinated, and murdered in white america for the past 400 years.

UN PLEBESCITE AND THE SPIRIT OF MALCOLM X

Malcolm lives through his spirit. His legacy is the direction he gave to revolution, to the people. In demanding a United Nations-supervised plebescite, in which only black colonialized subjects participate, our spirit and drive and the spirit and legacy of Malcolm X forge into one powerful revolutionary thrust.■



GUNS BABY GUNS

"The Spirit of The People is Greater Than The Man's Technology"

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

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MINISTER OF DEFENSE

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In Defense Of Self Defense

THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION

by the MINISTER OF DEFENSE HUEY P. NEWTON

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Human beings do not act from instinct as lower animals do. Those things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses to what might be later a direct experience. At this time the Black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops, this manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the Black nation across the country. The first man who threw a molotove cocktail is not personally known by the masses,but the action was respected and followed by the people.

The Vanguard Party must provide leardership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably by gained second-hand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantagious for them to resist by going to the streets in large numbers and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example. But first they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black prople in primary groups of two's and three's, but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard party existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insuffficent, many slave revolts occured.

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation , and through actual experience. The Black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good, but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The Black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore, it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the Black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the Black revolution in racist America.

OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

6. WE WANT ALL BLACK MENTTO BE EXEMPT FROM MILITARY SERVICE.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.

8. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK MEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.

9. WE WANT ALL BLACK PEOPLE WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR PEOPLE FROM THEIR BLACK COMMUNITIES, AS DEFINED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE AND PEACE, AND AS OUR MAJOR POLITICAL OBJECTIVE, A UNITED NATIONS-SUPERVISED PLEBISCITE TO BE HELD THROUGHOUT THE BLACK COLONY IN WHICH ONLY BLACK COLONIAL SUBJECTS WILL BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE, FOR THE PURPOSE OF DETERMINING THE WILL OF BLACK PEOPLE AS TO THEIR NATIONAL DESTINY.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FREE UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS RESPONSIBLE AND OBLIGATED TO GIVE EVERY MAN EMPLOYMENT OR A GUARANTEED INCOME. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN WILL NOT GIVE FULL EMPLOYMENT, THE THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION SHOULD BE TAKEN FROM THE BUSINESSMEN AND PLACED IN THE COMMUNITY SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY CAN ORGANIZE AND EMPLOY ALL OF ITS PEOPLE AND GIVE A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING.

WE BELIEVE THAT THIS RACIST GOVERNMENT HAS ROBBED US AND NOW WE ARE DEMANDING THE OVERDUE DEBT OF FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES. FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES WAS PROMISED 100 YEARS AGO AS RESTITUTION FOR SLAVE LABOR AND MASS MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WILL ACCEPT THE PAYMENT IN CURRENCY WHICH WILL BE DISTRIBUTED TO OUR MANY COMMUNITIES. THE GERMANS ARE NOW AIDING THE JEWS IN ISRAEL FOR THE GENOCIDE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. THE GERMANS MURDERED 6,000,000 JEWS. THE AMERICAN RACIST HAS TAKEN PART IN THE SLAUGHTER OF OVER 50,000,000 BLACK PEOPLE; THEREFORE, WE FEEL THAT THIS IS A MODEST DEMAND THAT WE MAKE.

WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE LANDLORDS WILL NOT GIVE DECENT HOUSING TO OUR BLACK COMMUNITY, THE THE HOUSING AND THE LAND SHOULD BE MADE INTO COOPERATIVES SO THAT OUR COMMUNITY, WITH GOVERNMENT AID, CAN BUILD AND MAKE DECENT HOUSING FOR ITS PEOPLE.

WE BELIEVE IN AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THAT WILL GIVE TO OUR PEOPLE A KNOWLEDGE OF SELF. IF A MAN DOES NOT HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF HIMSELF AND HIS POSITION IN SOCIETY AND THE WORLD, THEN HE HAS LITTLE CHANCE TO RELATE TO ANYTHING ELSE.

WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO FIGHT IN THE MILITARY SERVICE TO DEFEND A RACIST GOVERNMENT THAT DOES NOT PROTECT US. WE WILL NOT FIGHT AND KILL OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR IN THE WORLD WHO, LIKE BLACK PEOPLE, ARE BEING VICTIMIZED BY THE WHITE RACIST GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA. WE WILL PROTECT OURSELVES FROM THE FORCE AND VIOLENCE OF THE RACIST POLICE AND THE RACIST MILITARY, BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY.

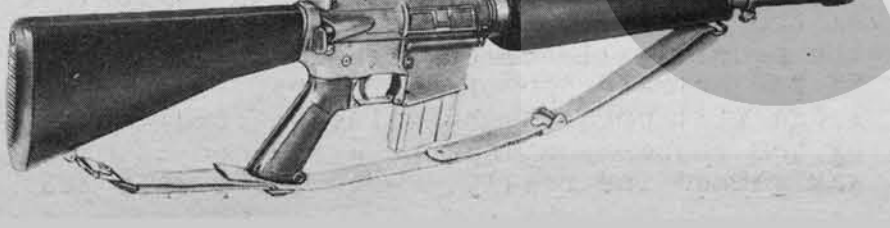
WE BELIEVE WE CAN END POLICE BRUTALITY IN OUR BLACK COMMUNITY BY ORGANIZING BLACK SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS THAT ARE DEDICATED TO DEFENDING OUR BLACK COMMUNITY FROM RACIST POLICE OPPRESSION AND BRUTALITY. THE SECOND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES GIVES US A RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES FOR SELF DEFENSE.

WE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD BE RELEASED FROM THE MANY JAILS AND PRISONS BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT RECEIVED A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL TRIAL.
"

WE BELIEVE THAT THE COURTS SHOULD FOLLOW THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION SO THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL RECEIVE FAIR TRIALS. THE 14TH AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION GIVES A MAN A RIGHT TO BE TRIED BY HIS PEER GROUP. A PEER IS A PERSON FROM A SIMILAR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, GEOGRAPHICAL, ENVIRONMENTAL, HISTORICAL AND RACIAL BACKGROUND. TO DO THIS THE COURT WILL BE FORCED TO SELECT A JURY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY FROM WHICH THE BLACK DEFENDANT CAME. WE HAVE BEEN, AND ARE BEING TRIED BY ALL-WHITE JURIES THAT HAVE NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE "AVERAGE REASONING MAN" OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BONDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSUME AMONG THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND NATURE'S GOD ENTITLETHEM, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO SEPARATION. WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED, THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS.

PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES; AND ACCORDINGLY ALL EXPERIENCE HATH SHEWN, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUFFERABLE, THAN TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. BUT WHEN A LONG TRAIN OF ABUSES AND USURPATION, PURSUING INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT, EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH A GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.



BLACK INFORMATION



Community Imperialism

by Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information

IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION, we are now in the phase of community liberation, to free our black communities from the imperialistic control exercised over them by the racist exploiting cliques within white communities, to free our people, locked up as they are in Urban Dungeons, from the imperialism of the white Suburbs.

Our's is a struggle against Community Imperialism. Our black communities are colonized and controlled from outside, and it is this control that has to be smashed, broken, shattered, by whatever means necessary.

The politics in our communities are controlled from outside, the economics of our communities are controlled from outside, and we ourselves are controlled by the racist police who come into our communities from outside and occupy them, patrolling, terrorizing, and brutalizing our people like a foreign army in a conquered land.

THE POLITICS

In the first place, our communities have been gerrymandered. When it comes to drawing the political boundaries of electoral districts, on the municipal, county, state, and national levels, the lines are drawn in an unfair way that deliberately dilutes the political power that our numbers entitle us to. We are over 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 strong. Yet we are political beggers. In districts where we are concentrated in sufficient numbers to elect a representative, we are still robbed because the racists SELECT the candidates for us and then we are called upon to certify that selection by going through the dumb ritual of an election, electing those who have been selected for us by our enemies. These bootlickers and uncletoms who are trotted out, grinning, for our approval, know exactly what they are doing. They are traitors to their own people.

In addition, this all takes place within a rigged system that pretends to be democratic but is actually controlled by money, Big Money. A look at the Presidential Candidates this year shows that it is nothing but a Millionaire's Derby. The truth about this rotten, corrupt, racist, undemocratic system is so clear that one wonders how the political racketeers in the Democratic and Republican parties get away with it, or how do they have the audacity to come out into the public talking that talk. A look at the public lapping it up, however, reveals just how unaware the people are. And black people, who have been victimized by this system every moment since they were first dragged over here as slaves, are still, to a large degree, hung up in it. We say that we are working for our National Liberation, and that in order to achieve that we must have universal national consciousness within our people. But before we can really tackle that monumental job, an essential step is to achieve Community Liberation. To achieve Community Liberation, we must have a solid Community Consciousness. A community that year in and year out allows itself to be raped politically is not conscious. It is dead, locked in a deep slumber. There is power in our communities, but it is not in the hands of our communities. It is in the hands of other communities, or in the hands of traitors who are the flunkies for the Big Wheels in other communities.

THE ECONOMICS

Economically, we are at the mercy of the exploiters, businessmen, storeowners, merchants, who have turned our communities into market places out of which they make huge profits, through high prices and high rent, draining off all the prosperity, taking it home with them, making their neat, clean Suburban communities into showplaces of prosperity, and leaving our communities to deteriorate into desolate, poverty-stricken, dirty slums.

We have been "organized" into this poverty. We must "organize" ourselves out of it. We are cut oft, blocked from the sources of wealth. We have no control over the land that contains the natural resources out of which goods and products are manufactured. We have no control over the machines and factories that take the natural resources and make them into goods and products. We have no control over the wholesale and retail establishments that take these goods and products and offer them for sale at a profit. From beginning to end, we have no control over the economic process. Gathering the natural resources from the land, processing these natural resources into goods and products, marketing these goods and products, at a profit, all is controlled by others. We are out of it. There used to be a time when we could get jobs, at low pay, in one of these phases of the economic process, but now even those jive jobs are gone or quickly disappearing, and we are being replaced by machines - and these machines are owned and controlled by others. And those who own and control everything, have hired themselves a crew of strong-arm men to see to it that nobody interfers with their good thing, their pot of gold, their horn of plenty.

cont. pg. 25, col. 1

Robert F. Williams

Chairman-in-exile of Afro-American Struggle --The Crusader, March, 1968

The short hot summers of '65, '66 and '67 came and went leaving the imprint of discontent and rebellion in their wake. As a result of the growing turmoil of these past summers, the power structure is reacting out of hysteria and is brutally applying the laws of the jungle as a solution to long standing social problems. The power structure reacts hysterically violent out of fear of any challenge to its authority and power to play the role of an omnipotent god in arbitrarily deciding the fate of humanity at large. The miserable and wretched Black masses of the ghetto are beginning to react fearlessly and to resolutely oppose the brutal repression and blatant denial of their natural right to a place in the sun. The power structure is alarmed, but not alarmed enough to rectify its social evils that torment and threaten the very existence of the Black man. Even hypocritical dialogue between the oppressor race and the oppressed race is now almost a thing of the past. The bigoted and degenerate American white man is no longer predisposed to justify his barbarity by eloquent words couched in grandiose schemes of delusion and the vain glorification of representative democracy, freedom and justice. Nevertheless, the Black man is no less entertained by the silence of the oppressive white man's guiled tongue of deceit and lies. No, there is no vacuum because the white man has stopped talking. The Black man had stopped listening long ago. As the white man hypocritically pretended to be talking; the Black man merely hypocritically pretended to be listening. Yes, it was a total shuck.



WHITE MASTER MENTALITY

In racist America it is becoming more and more difficult for the Black and White races to congregate under the same roof without a bitter clash of interests. Their minds seem as far apart as East and West and almost all hope is lost in a realistic and honest coming togetherness. This is no new wonder of the world. The facts are simple. This seemingly insoluble problem stems from the fact that the Black community inherited the bitter legacy of slavery; it still suffers from the consequences of an aeon of degradation and brutal exploitation. The white community has arrogantly inherited the imperialistic legacy of a brutally exploiting slave master race; it is still motivated, in its relations with the Black community, by a master slave mentality.

MASTER OF DECEPTION

The suffering and dehumanized Black man is determined to usher in a new social order that will redress his long standing social injustices, and that will allow him to join the human race without restrictions. The white power structure and its massive array of satellites and Tomboes are determined to halt or to, at least, slow the pace of the erosion of their capacity to oppress, exploit, segregate and dehumanize the Black under class. The racist American white man is not about to voluntarily give up his special privilege, his whiteness, his right to wield the devil power of the earth. The racist American ofay is a master of deception, he has deceived the world into accepting him as a democrat, a humanitarian, a Christian, an equalitarian, a universal philanthropist and even sometimes as a Marxist while the very nature of his hypocrisy is fashioned from a grand design to propagate white supremacy and cultural, spiritual, economic and political domination.

LAST HOPE

Racist America is the evil and sinister white man's last great hope of world domination. It is also the Black man's last great hope of frustrating the white man's fascist scheme to subdue and Americanize the world. In short, we must come to realize that the current crisis facing the races in America is by no means an isolated or provincial affair. It is a struggle of good against evil, of justice against tyranny and of the slave against the slave master. Eventually, it will decide the fate of America, and subsequently it will register an impact upon the whole world, for the disposition of the USA determines many major world issues. The racist white man in America will fight desperately for the uninhibited right to decide the fate of the world, and his international running dogs and Yankee loving Uncle Toms will move might and main to help their master to retain control over the citadel of world reaction.

VIOLENT CONFRONTATION

If there is ever going to be justice in America, if the Black man is ever to be liberated, if human dignity is ever to prevail; there must be a violent confrontation between Black man and white man, between oppressor and oppressed, between the master class and the slave class. The white man has in the past and still hates and brutally abuses the Black man in racist and imperialist America, and this cruel fact is not based on intangible theory and speculation either. In regards to the present intolerable situation and the task before us, we must not allow ourselves to relapse back into a state of fantasy wherein we place our survival, our freedom and human dignity in the hands of our oppressors and dehumanizers and humanity's worst enemy. Survival demands that we take our fate into our own hands, that we prepare ourselves to meet any challenge and make any sacrifice in the impending confrontation with tyranny.

Yes, we have begged, prayed and peacefully petitioned for justice and human rights in racist America. We have befriended and loved white America under conditions that would have alienated a most loyal dog. We have served and attended the affairs of white America at the expense and neglect of our own. We have nurtured and enriched a way of life the very existence of which is inimical to our own best interest. Now we rise up to resist white supremacy tyranny and we are cynically called Black racists. We rail against the symbol of brutal exploitation, and we are called mad dogs. We burn a source of our social contamination and the wrathful white reprobates and their running dogs assail us from all corners of the earth. In America the savage oppressor prepares a pogrom, a massacre, genocide. We meekly plead for understanding, for justice and he arrays his fascist forces for massacre. We ask for food and he sends us the policeman's club, the guardsman's bayonet and the soldier's bullet. In the cold and miserable peace of the winter, he prepares his armour and his tanks to make war on us in the hot and troublesome summer. Let us not permit ourselves to be disarmed and rendered defenseless by those who admonish us to love this beast, to lie down in darkness with this monster and to have faith in his phlegmatic goodness. Our survival requires us not to prepare for a masochistic all American love - in but rather for an all American confrontation.

SPIRIT VS. TECHNOLOGY

As far as we are concerned, things are not going to get any better. They are going to get worse. The racist government is preparing to unleash a campaign of terror against our people. They are arrogantly announcing the acquisition of special tanks and weapons to make war against the ghetto and are doing their best to exaggerate the role of weapons so as to intimidate our people, morally disarm us and to undermine our confidence in our capacity and ability to resist racist tyranny. Let our enthusiasm for resistance not be dampened by fear. There is no such thing as an invincible weapon. Do they (the imperialists) not have tanks and fierce weapons in Vietnam? We must meet repressive violence with an invincible will to be free. We must meet tyrannical violence with righteous violence! We must unite! We must get organized! We must arm and perfect the art of urban guerrilla warfare! Only a powerful Black Nationalist spirit can correctly fortify our people with the high spirit and aspirations needed to withstand the coming onslaught of white supremacy nationalism and savage white power unleashed on a wild rampage of Black genocide. The fat is in the fire. There is trouble in the air. We are tugging at our chains. The power structure responds. It is not a positive response to a flagrant and long standing injustice. It is a vicious and beastly reaction to a righteous gesture. It is a declaration of war in response to a plea for peace and dignity. Yes, the barbaric power structure is feverishly preparing for a short hot summer of fascist repression. The word has gone out to the bloodthirsty wolf pack to viciously crush Black resistance to white tyranny and to preserve the status quo at all cost. The order of the day is that Whitey vampire must maintain law and order at all cost. Whose law and whose order? But in defense of whose rights will the Black man stand? Yes, the white supremacy power structure has responded. It is a reaction without positive change. The source of tension, the cause for war remains. The enemy masses. Stand by for fierce fighting. Stand by for a new phase of violence.

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG



In the five years since Chairman Mao's first statement, the Afro-American struggle has been developing rapidly and embarking steadily on the road of opposing counter - revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. This struggle has been dealing increasingly telling blows at the U.S. ruling circles. At present, the Black American struggle is, in the main, taking the form of violent struggle.

On a scale unseen in American history, the latest wave of this struggle against violent repression, like a hurricane, swept across more than 120 large and small cities in less than 10 days. It has hit U.S. imperialism hard and once again has shaken the reactionary rule of U.S. monopoly capital to its foundations.

This surging struggle marks the speeding up of the awakening of the more than 20 million Afro-Americans and reflects the sharper than ever class contradictions in the United States.

The present storm broke out at a time when U.S. imperialism was weighed down by insolvable crises and difficulties. U.S. imperialism has suffered disastrous defeats in the war of aggression against Viet Nam; the people of the United States have been campaigning against this war with increasing intensity, while the ruling circles are torn by endless quarrels. At the same time, the aggravated U.S. dollar crisis has set off a financial crisis in the whole capitalist world, the severity of which has had no equal in the last 40 years. All this has lent additional force to the blow which the Afro - American struggle has dealt U.S. imperialism. Thus, the U.S. ruling circles have come under heavy fire at home and abroad and have been thrown into utter confusion.

A remarkable feature of the current wave of the Black struggle against violent repression is its rapidly gathered momentum and force and its unprecedented scale.

On the evening of April 4, the Afro-American clergyman Martin Luther King was assassinated by the U.S. imperialists; this was followed by a succession of powerful struggles by the Black people. These rapidly engulfed 125 cities, including Washington, the capital, New York, Chicago and Detroit. Long victimized by ruthless exploitation and oppression, large numbers of Black people braved the brutal repression by fully-armed fascist troops and police and, with seething fury against the ruling circles and the racists, broke into the streets. They took revenge by starting fires in place after place and smashing stores and pawn-shops run by white exploiters. Many large cities, heavenly spots for the exploiting classes, suddenly became smoke-enveloped battle scenes littered with rubble.

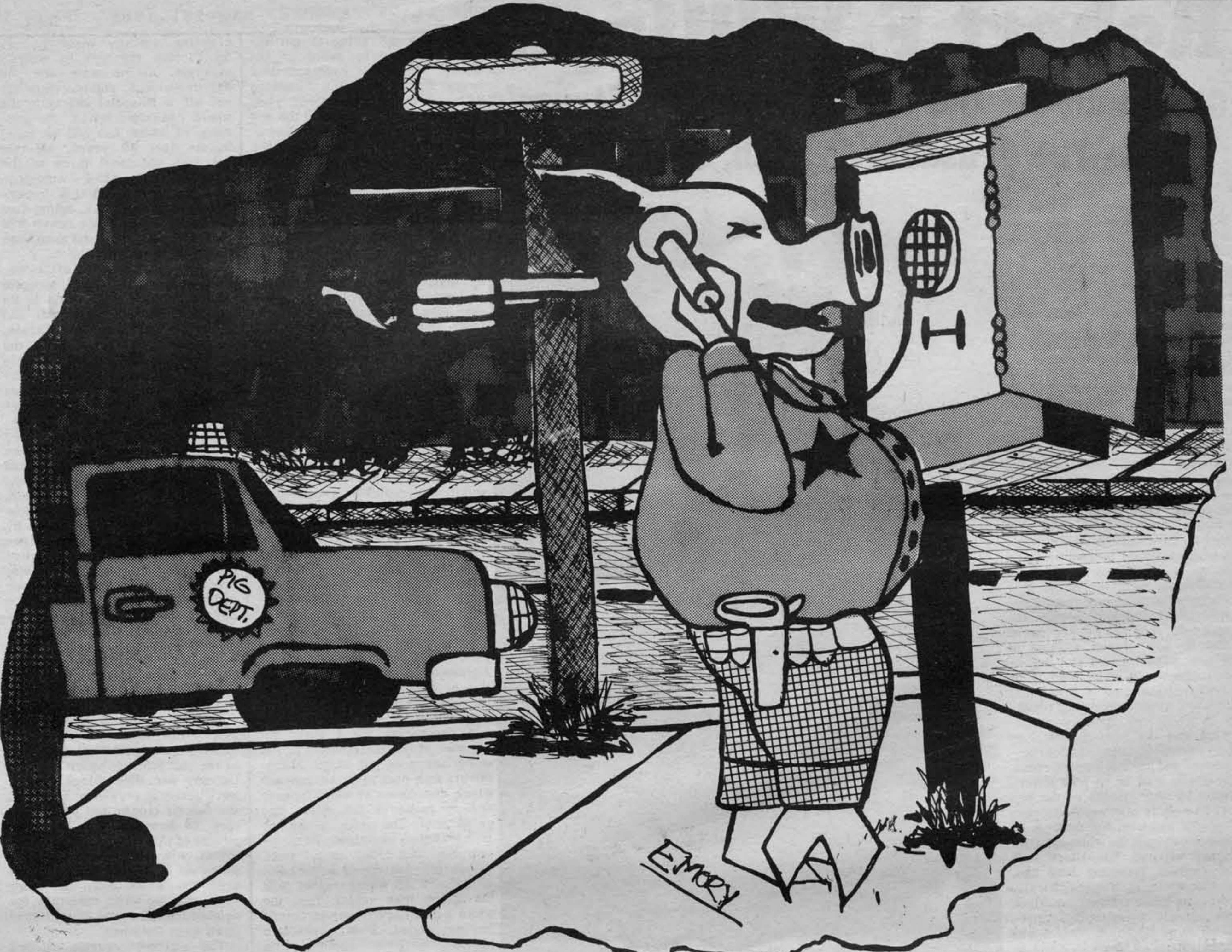
In their battles against the fascist police, the Afro-American masses once again displayed their brave and fearless spirit of defying any sacrifice. Black snipers were active everywhere. They kept the fascist troops and police jittery 24 hours a day. Even the citadel of U.S. imperialism, Washington, was not spared this time. Fires set by Afro-Americans covered the whole city, and many shops run by white racists in the neighbourhood of the White House itself were smashed.

The current struggle against violent repression proves that only by opposing counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence can the Black Americans achieve freedom and liberation. The fact that an exponent of non-violence like the clergyman Martin Luther King fell a victim to the violence of the white racists is itself a hard and bitter lesson. After learning of the bloody incident, one Afro-American angrily said: "From now on let's forget all about non-violence!" His is the voice of millions upon millions of Black Americans striving for freedom and liberation.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." U.S. imperialism carries out a vicious reactionary rule at home, brutally exploiting and oppressing the broad masses of the American working people, especially the more than 20 million Afro-Americans. For ages, the latter have been subjected to twin national and class oppression. They live at the lowest depths of American society. They have the most meagre income and the highest rate of unemployment: hunger and starvation always stare them in the face. Full of wrath, every Afro-American's feelings against racial suppression are like a powder keg which a single spark can touch off. The broad labouring sections among the white people of the United States have common interests with the Afro-Americans. Along with the daily intensification of exploitation and subjugation of the masses of the working people by the U.S. monopoly capitalists, more and more white labourers have joined in the Afro-American struggle. Whites have taken part in many demonstrations and strikes by Afro-Americans. The combination of the Black struggle with the American workers' movement is bound to accelerate the collapse of the evil rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalists.

The Afro-American struggle against racial oppression is a component part of the struggle of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism, and constitutes a powerful support to the revolutionary struggles of the people in all countries. U.S. im-

cont. pg. 25, col. 4



GESTAPO TACTICS

LA SNCC Attacked

The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee moved into its Los Angeles office on January 12, 1968. Since that time S.N.C.C. and the people working with the organization have been constantly harassed by the Los Angeles Police Department, the F.B.I. and their friends located in the Black community. Since January 12th these things have happened:

1. The constant surveillance of the S.N.C.C. office by both marked and unmarked police cars.

2. The spotlighting of people as they leave the office at night.

3. On Friday, April 5, while the staff was attending memorial services for Dr. King, the police broke into the office. At this encounter the police destroyed $5,000.00 worth of printing equipment, confiscated literature, and put tacks in food cooking on the stove.

4. It is alleged that the proprietor of the building occupied by S.N.C.C. has been pressured by the Los Angeles Police Department. Present rent of $150.00 per month has been doubled ($300.00) or out by June 1, 1968.

5. Last night, May 3rd, after attending a fund raising party for S.N.C.C., the racist pig cops broke into a staff member's home, ransacked the house and arrested everyone inside--all S.N.C.C. staff members. Those arrested are:

1. Franklin Alexander, 27, strong and well known community organizer. Key figure in organization of the People's Tribunal Committee. Demanded City Council bring Los Angeles cop to trial for murder of 18 year old Gregory Clarke. Project Co-ordinator for L.A. S.N.C.C.

2. "Deacon" Alexander, 21, well liked and widely known young black leader. One of the first two members of S.N.C.C. Youth Corps. Long involved in black draft resistance with young high school brothers. Campus speaker for women, and children to learn to better defend their homes and community.

6. George Hopkins, 20, S.N.C.C. security officer responsible for printing and distributing information throughout the Black community. One of the directors of the S.N.C.C. Youth Corps.

7. Betty Jo Allen, 18, Dedicated office worker, S.N.C.C. barber and one of the key workers in the newly organized FRIENDS OF S.N.C.C. Also involved in S.N.C.C. Liberation School.

Bails totaling $50,000.00 have been set. We can and we must raise the money ourselves.

NBAWADU.

3. Stanley Wright, 21, member of T.S.U. 5 (FIVE brothers at Texas Southern University allegedly accused of killing ONE Houston policeman.) On the West coast to speak at college campuses and in the community to let black people know what the man will do to us, and how he is moving on us now.

4. Thomas Valentine, 33, Los Angeles S.N.C.C. volunteer staff worker involved in following up leads on all L.A. S.N.C.C. projects.

5. Mark Simeian, 20, L.A. S.N.C.C. Security officer presently working on self-defense project which will enable men,

WHAT CAN YOU DO

1. Send money to:

L.A. S.N.C.C.
1944 West Jefferson Blvd.
Los Angeles, California
213 731-7378

2. Write, call, send telegrams to:

L.A. Police Ch. Thomas Reddin
150 North Los Angeles Street
Los Angeles, California
213 MA 4-5211 ext. 3202

L.A. Mayor Samuel Yorty
Los Angeles City Hall
Los Angeles, California
213 MA 4-5211 ext. 1175

demanding the immediate release of and dismissal of charges against the L.A. S.N.C.C. 7 arrested. Demand that attacks on L.A. S.N.C.C. by the L.A. Police Department cease immediately!

3. Give house parties, dances, hold rallies, benefits, and whatever else you feel necessary to inform and enlist support from our people. O

WHAT IS A PIG?

A low natured beast that has no regard for law, justice, or the rights of the people; a creature that bites the hand that feeds it; a foul depraved traducer, usually found masquerading as the victim of an unprovoked attack.

EMERYVILLE: PIGS RUN AMUCK

Three Emeryville pigs, exhibiting the naturally crazed inclination of their species, went on a shooting spree at 4:30 on the morning of May 2, 1968.

Fortunately no black person was injured in the early-morning fusillade which struck parked cars for a two block area in and around the penthouse.

The three pigs, Donald Ashbrook, John LaCoste, and William Tucker, remain sergeants on the Emeryville Police Force.

Although they were having a "part" and supposedly many more people were involved, no one else was take in. Oakland Pig Chief Gain observed: "Our officers were remiss about this in not taking the names of everybody there."

Although the officers definitely violated a gun firing ordinance, Chief Gain said no arrest was possible.

The racist press and radio and TV media attempted to suppress the news entirely. Splintered accounts leaked out nevertheless. This shows us two things:

1) The pig is basically an animal, of lower reasoning power than the normal black human. Thus, he must be dealt with in an according manner.

2) The pig can make mistakes. It is to our advantage to capitalize on his stupidity. Ex: When we see some pigs sleep at the wheel of a pig car, or when we see them reading the paper and drinking coffee, or when we see the pigs eating at Doggie Diner, the pigs' hangout, we catch him off guard. ●

MACE

Mace is a poisonous chemical used by racist policemen throughout White America. It is a chemical sprayed out of a can used primarily on black people.

The destructive and disabling spray causes dizziness, nausea, running of the eyes and nose; but most important it can cause permanent blindness, and will effectively temporarily blind its victim.

If you are maced, place a solution of baking soda in water (or at least water) in the affected area--breathe deeply to get as much fresh air as possible. If the victim begins to vomit from the spray, find a doctor as quickly as possible. O

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!
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In Defense Of Self Defense

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the Black community, the Black population. If it is learned by the power structure that Black people have X amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, for it is already more than prepared. In the end result, this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of the vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

cont. pg. 21, col. 1

DONATIONS OF TYPEWRITERS, DESKS, FILE CABINETS, OFFICE SUPPLIES, MONEY, CARS, ALL TOOLS OF NEWSPAPER PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, ALL SIZES, SHAPES, COLORS, WELCOME AND DESPERATELY NEEDED BY THE BLACK PANTHER. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY needs REPORTERS, EDITORS, WRITERS, PHOTOGRAPHERS, ARTISTS, AND PEOPLE TO WORK WITH LAYOUT. Call 654-2003 in OAKLAND, or come to BLACK PANTHER PARTY CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS, 4421 Grove Street, in OAKLAND.

cont. fr. pg. 5, col. 1

BLACK LAWYERS;

Scottsboro boys and of Saco and Vanzetti. The issue at stake was Huey's life, and the best legal skills and resources were needed. There was no basis to quibble about color. If the Minister of Defense had suffered a heart attack, and the best heart specialist were needed to save his life, I wonder if the same outcry would be raised if the doctor turned out to be white?

The point has been made that for Huey P. Newton to go to court with a white lawyer weakens the argument for black liberation. Seeing as how the entire legal system is white, the logic of this complaint escapes me. However, to reply to it, as it has become an issue in the Bay Area, I would say first that black lawyers do far more to weaken the argument for black power than the Black Panther's using the assistance of white lawyers, and that what is on trial before a white court is first of all, the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party and secondly, the entire vanguard of the radical black movement in this country. What is at stake is first of all, Huey's life, and secondly, the right of black people to self-defense against armed aggression on the part of the police as the military arm of the racist power structure. What is necessary is for Huey to be set free. This demands the most competent and powerful legal resources available.

Charles R. Garry has a record of 24 capital cases, all of which he has won. He has taken the extreme expense of some of his cases out of his own pocket to defend a client he believed was innocent. Attorney Garry has assured the Newton family and the Black Panther Party that he will fight this case as far as it can be fought. His determination and technical skill is not dependent upon the ability of the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund to pay the entire cost of the case, which will be quite a few thousand dollars. The resources of the entire firm, Garry, Dreyfus, McTernan, and Brodsky, of which one of the lawyers is black, are being dedicated to this case.

White power runs this country, white power is dispensed in its courts, white power shot Huey Newton and put him in jail, and white power is trying to gas him. Huey P. Newton is a brilliant spokesman of black power, a living embodiment of black power. Whether his attorney is white or black, black power is on trial. White resources at the disposal of black people, a white legal firm defending the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party is a defense an example of black power. Black skin is not--as our black lawyers, politicians, doctors, teachers, and other professionals highly attest in their mad scurry for white power, white values, white acceptance, and white hostility to black power.

Being deeply committed to the struggle for black liberation, and not feeling compromised by the use of white lawyers, I wonder how many of these people who complain about the white attorney are really concerned about the black movement, really concerned about Huey's life, really concerned about the Black Panther Party, really concerned about putting an end to the racist exploitation of black people, really concerned about putting an ending to the wanton murder of black people by the police, and if they are so concerned, what are they doing to show it? Are these the same people who have contributed to the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, helped the Black Panther Party to grow, made constant personal sacrifices and endured serious danger to see their commitment bear fruit? Or are these people onlookers of a liberation struggle being waged for their benefit who just generally dislike white people and don't like the way it looks in court? Are these people black lawyers and their friends who want to cash in on the prestige associated with this historic case? Whose benefit are they concerned with, Huey P. Newton's or black lawyers?

April 19, 1968



I am 33 years old. My first 15 years were given to learning how to cope with the world and developing my approach to life. I blundered in my choices and set off down a road that was a deadend. Long years of incarceration is what I found on that road, from Juvenile Hall at the beginning to San Quentin, Folsom, and Soledad State Prisons at the end. From my 16th year, I spent the next 15 years in and out of prison, the last time being an unbroken stay of 9 years.

During my last stay in prison, I made the desperate decision to abandon completely the criminal path and to redirect my life. While in prison, I concentrated on developing the skills of a writer and I wrote a book which a publisher bought while I was still in prison and which was published after I was out on parole.



BRAND NEW LIFE

It looked like smooth sailing for me. I had fallen in love with a beautiful girl and gotten married; my book was soon to be published, and I had a good job as a staff writer with RAMPARTS Magazine in San Francisco. I had broken completely with my old life. Having gone to jail each time out of Los Angeles, I had also put Los Angeles behind me, taking my parole to the Bay Area. I had a totally new set of friends and, indeed, I had a brand new life.

The thought of indulging in any "criminal activity" was as absurd and irrelevant as the thought of sprouting wings and flying to the moon. Besides, I was too busy. I joined the Black Panther Party, and because of my writing skills and interest in communications, became the editor of the Party's newspaper, THE BLACK PANTHER. In this I found harmony with my wife, Kathleen, who had worked in the Communications Department of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, and who, after our marriage, moved to San Francisco, joined the Black Panther Party, and became our Communications Secretary. Also, she is our Party's candidate for the 18th Assembly District seat in San Francisco, running on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. With my job at RAMPARTS, my political activity, editing the newspaper, and work on a new book, I had more to do than I could handle. My life was an endless round of speeches, organizational meetings, and a few hours snatched here and there on my typewriter.

I thought that the parole authorities would be pleased with my new life, because in terms of complying with the rules governing the conduct of parole, I was a model parolee. But such was not the case. My case was designated a "Special Study Case," which required that I see my parole agent four times each month, once at home, once at my job, once "in the field," and once in his office. My parole agent, Mr. R. L. Bilideau, was white, but his boss, Mr. Isaac Rivers, was a black man. Together these two gentlemen were my contact with the parole authorities. On a personal level, we got along very well together, and we spent many moments talking about the world and its problems. However, I could never believe in them as sincere friends, because they were organization men and experience had taught me that, on receiving orders from above, they would snap into line and close ranks against me.

SPEAKS AGAINST WAR

The first time this happened was when, on April 15, 1967, I made a speech at Kezar Stadium criticizing this country's role in the war in Vietnam. The speech was part of the program of the Spring Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam, during the International Days of Protest. There were demonstrations from coast to coast. Dr. Martin Luther King spoke at the rally in New York and his wife spoke at our rally at Kezar. The crowd was estimated at about 65,000 and the speeches were shown on television. Members of the parole authority, who don't like me, I was told, saw excerpts of my speech on TV and launched their campaign to have my parole revoked, but failed. Even though I had a perfect right to free speech, Mr. Rivers and Mr. Bilideau said there were those in the State Capitol who, for political purposes, were clamoring to have my parole revoked and me returned to prison. They advised me to cool it and foresake my rights in the interest of not antagonizing those in Sacramento who did not like my politics. From then on, I was under constant pressure through them to keep my mouth shut and my pen still on any subject that might arouse a negative reaction in certain circles in Sacramento. Because I was violating neither any law of the land nor any rule of parole, upon being assured by my attorneys that I was strictly within my rights, I decided not to accept these warnings and continued exercising my right to free speech and to write what was on my mind.

JAILED IN SACRAMENTO

The next crisis occurred two weeks later when I was arrested in Sacramento with a delegation of armed Black Panthers who visited the Capitol in this manner as a shrewd political and publicity gesture. The news media, heavily concentrated in the Capitol, gave the Black Panthers a million dollars worth of publicity and helped spread the Panther message to black people that they should arm themselves against a racist country that was becoming increasingly repressive. Although I was there as a reporter, with an assignment from my magazine, and with the permission in advance of my parole agent, I was arrested by the Sacramento police and then the parole authority slapped a "Hold" on me so that I could not get out on bail. To the surprise of both the cops and the parole authority, their investigations proved that my Press credentials were in order, that I was indeed there on an assignment, and that I had permission from my parole agent -- also, that I had been armed with nothing more lethal than a camera and a ball point pen. Still the Sacramento cops would not drop the charges and the parole authority would not lift its "Hold," until the judge, citing the obvious "mistake" on the part of the cops, released me on my own recognizance. Then magnanimously, the parole authority lifted its "Hold."

DON'T CROSS BAY BRIDGE

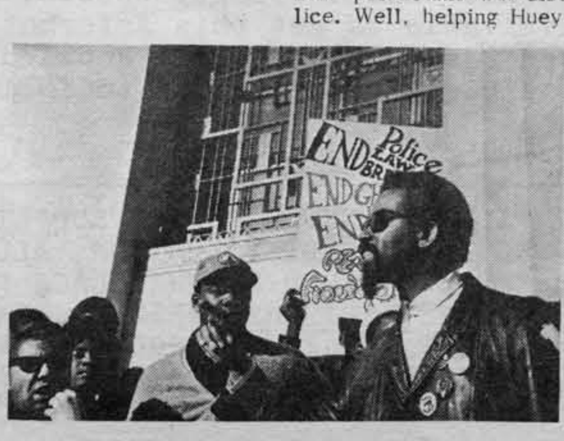
When I returned to San Francisco, I was again told about the clamor in Sacramento to have my parole revoked. My enemies, I was told, had stayed up all night scanning TV film footage, trying to find a shot of me with a gun in my hands. No luck. But anyhow, severe new restrictions were to be imposed. 1) I was not to go outside a seven mile area; specifically, I was not to cross the Bay Bridge. 2) I was to keep my name out of the news for the next six months; specifically, my face was not to appear on any TV screen. 3) I was not to make any more speeches. 4) And I was not to write anything critical of the California Department of Corrections or any California politician. In short, I was to play dead, or I would be sent back to prison. "All that Governor Reagan has to do," I was told, "is sign his name on a dotted line and you are dead, with no appeal." Knowing that this was true and with my back thus to the wall, I decided to play it cool and go along with them, as I didn't see what else I could do. My attorneys said that we could challenge it in court, but that I would probably have to pound the Big Yard in San Quentin for a couple of years, waiting for the court to hand down a decision. I was in a bad bag.

Things stayed like that, but after a couple of months the travel ban was lifted with all the other restrictions remaining in force.

DEFENDS HUEY

Then, on October 28, 1967, Huey Newton, Minister of Defense and leader of our Party, was shot down in the streets by an Oakland cop and was arrested and charged with the murder of one Oakland cop and the wounding of another. Bobby Seale, Chairman of our Party, was serving a six months jail sentence for the Sacramento incident and I was the only other effective public speaker that we had. A campaign to mobilize support in Huey's defense had to be launched immediately. So in November, 1967, I started making speeches again and writing in Huey's defense. The political nature of the case, and the fact that it involved a frameup by the Oakland Police Department and the D.A.'s office, dictated that I had not only to criticize politicians but also the police. Well, helping Huey stay out of the Gas Chamber was more important than my staying out of San Quentin, so I "let my hair down" and went for broke. TV, radio, newspapers, magazines, the works. I missed no opportunity to speak out with Huey's side of the story. Mr. Rivers and Mr. Bilideau told me that the decision had already been made above to revoke my parole at the first pretext. Living thus on borrowed time, I tried to get as much done as I possibly could before time ran out.

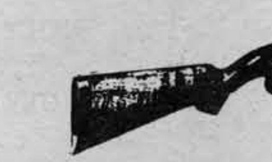
In the latter part of December, 1967, Bobby Seale's sentence ran out and he was free to speak. Mass public support for Huey had developed. Our Party had formed a coalition with the new Peace and Freedom Party, demanding that Huey be set free. In addition, we arranged to run Huey for Congress in the 7th Congressional District of Alameda County, to run Bobby Seale for the 17th Assembly District, and, as I have mentione[d,]
to run my wife, Kathleen, for t[he]
18th Assembly seat in San Fra[n-]
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my public speaking.



#1 Affida

Minister of Infor

California State





PIGS BREAK IN

In January, the Police Depar[t-]
ments of Oakland, Berkeley a[nd]
San Francisco unleashed a terr[or]
and arrest campaign against t[he]
Black Panther Party. Members
the Party were being arrested a[nd]
harassed constantly. On Janua[ry]
15, 1968, at 3 a.m. the Spec[ial]
Tactical Squad of San Francisc[o]
Police Department kicked down t[he]
door of my home, terrorizing
wife, myself, and our Party's R[e-]
volutionary Artist, Emory Dou[g-]
las, who was our guest that nig[ht]

fidavit of Eldridge Cleaver

Information, Black Panther Party

State Prison, Vacaville, California





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FREE HUEY RALLY

On February 17, which was Huey Newton's 26th birthday, we staged a huge rally at the Oakland Auditorium, featuring Stokely Carmichael and his first public speech following his triumphal tour of the revolutionary countries of the world, and also featuring, as a surprise guest, H. Rap Brown, along with the venerable James Foreman, who took the occasion to announce the merger of SNCC and the Black Panther Party. Held in the shadow of the Alameda County jail wherein Huey is confined, the theme of the rally was "Come See About Huey." Over 5,000 people showed up, a shattering and unequivocal demonstration of the broad support built up for the Minister of Defense. A similar rally was held in Los Angeles the next day, and altogether Stokely spent nine days in California beating the drums for Huey.

PIGS RUN AMUCK

Everytime we turned around Bobby Seale was getting arrested on frivolous, trumped up charges. On February 22, 1968, a posse of Berkeley Police kicked down Bobby's door, dragging him and his wife, Artie, from bed and arresting them on a sensational charge of conspiracy to commit murder. The same night, 6 other members of the Party were arrested on the same charge. The ridiculous charge of conspiracy to commit murder was quickly dropped, but all arrested were held to answer on various gun law violations, all of which were unfounded. All in all, during that hectic week, sixteen members of our Party were arrested gratuitously and charged with offenses that had never been committed. Although we know that we will ultimately beat all of these cases in court, they constitute a serious drain on our time, energy, and financial resources, the last of which has always been virtually non-existant.

During these hectic days, public sentiment throughout the Bay Area swung heavily in our favor because it was obvious to a blind man that we were being openly persecuted by the police.

In the midst of all this, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., on February 28, 1968 published my book, SOUL ON ICE, and a lot of publicity as a result was focused on me. By this time, my parole agent had virtually given up coming to see me, sending for me, or even calling me on the phone, a development that kept my nerves on edge. Was this the calm before the storm?

I was out of the state most of the month of March, filling TV appearances with my book, mostly in New York.

GESTAPO HITS CHURCH

On April 3, 1968, the Oakland Police Department invaded the regular meeting of our Party at St. Augustine's Church at 27th and West Street. Led by a Captain, brandishing shotguns, and accompanied by a white Monsignor and a black preacher, about a dozen of them burst through the door. Both Bobby Seale and myself were not at that particular meeting (Bobby was in L.A. and I had left minutes before the raid in response to an urgent call). Our National Captain, David Hilliard, was in charge. David said that the cops came in with their shotguns leveled, but that when they saw him in charge they looked confused and disappointed. Mumbling incoherently, they lowered their weapons and stalked out.

Father Neil, whose church it is, happened to be present to witness the entire event. Theretofore, criticism of the Police had been just that, and although he was inclined to believe that there was some validity to all the complaints, it was all still pretty abstract to him because he had never witnessed anything with his own eyes. Well, he had witnessed it now, and in his own church -- with ugly shotguns thrown down on innocent, unarmed people who were holding a quiet peaceful assembly -- Father Neil was outraged. He called a press conference next day at which he denounced the Oakland Police Department for behaving like Nazi storm troopers inside his church. However, Father Neil's press conference was upstaged by the fact that earlier in the day, his brother of the Cloth, Martin Luther King, had gotten assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. An ugly cloud boding evil settled over the nation.

A few days prior to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Marlon Brando had flown up from Hollywood to find out for himself what the hell was going on in the Bay Area. We took him to my pad and talked and argued with him all night long, explaining to him our side of the story. We had to wade through the history of the world before everything was placed in perspective and Brando could see where the Black Panther Party was coming from. When Brando split back to Hollywood, after accompanying Bobby Seale to court next day, we felt that we had gained a sincere friend and valuable ally in the struggle.



PIGS KILL LIL BOBBY

On the third night following the raid on St. Augustine's Church, members of the Oakland Police Department tried to kill me. They did kill my companion, Little Bobby Hutton, Treasurer of our Party and the first Black Panther recruited by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale when they organized the Party in October, 1966. They murdered Little Bobby in cold blood. I saw them shoot him, with fifty guns aimed at my head. I did get shot in the leg.

I am convinced that I was marked for death that night, and the only reason I was not killed was that there were too many beautiful black people crowded around demanding that the cops not shoot me, too many witnesses for even the brazen, contemptuous and contemptable Oakland Pigs.

PAROLE REVOKED

A few hours later, at 4 a.m. on April 7, someone somewhere in the shadowy secret world of the California Adult Authority, ordered my parole revoked. While I was still in the emergency ward of Highland Hospital, three Oakland cops kept saying to me: "You're going home to San Quentin tonight!" Before the sun rose on a new day, charged with attempted murder after watching Little Bobby being murdered and almost joining him, I was shackled hand and foot and taken by Lt. Snellgrove and two other employees of the Department of Corrections, to San Quentin. Lt. Snellgrove, whom I knew very well from my stay at San Quentin and who remembered me, looked at me and said, while we rode in the back seat of the car headed for San Quentin, "Bad night, huh?" He was not being facetious -- what else could he say -- and neither was I.

"Yeah," I said. "About the baddest yet."

Further, Affiant sayeth not.

Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party
California State Prison
Vacaville, California
April 19, 1968



Liberation and Political Assassination

With the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King in Memphis, Tennessee on April 4 and the attempted assassination of Eldridge Cleaver in Oakland on April 6, the Federal Government launched its national, systematic, and timetable plan to liquidate the leadership of the black liberation struggle. The systematic attempt to liquidate the leadership of the Black Panther Party starting with the bullet fired into Huey P. Newton in October is but the most advanced stage of a national conspiracy in the mother country against black people in the colony because the leadership of the Black Panther Party was the most advanced in this country. The relationship of Dr. King's assassination to the attempted assassination of Eldridge Cleaver within two days of each other must be understood clearly in order to see the political direction the present leadership of the Federal Government has taken.

LBJ RESIGNS

On April 1, the most profound political shock since the assassination of John F. Kennedy issued from the White House and shot across the world like lightening: President Johnson would not run for re-election. The entire political apparatus in the mother country went into a new phase. The white left was thrown into disarray, afraid that Robert Kennedy's presidential campaign would usurp their following; announcements of phony peace negotiations with Vietnam threatened to destroy the issue they were organized around. The white liberals were led to believe they had an opening and could win with McCarthy; however, liberalism in leadership was ended with the assassination of President Kennedy. While both the white left and the white liberals were being distracted by a tactical maneuver by LBJ, the white fascists were emboldened by the increasing display of police power and the disintegration of middle-class liberalism. For the announcement of President Johnson, the murderous dictator perpetrating the most barbarous war in human history against the people of Vietnam, who has never given any indication of a desire to relinquish power or to stop the war in Vietnam regardless of the opposition of the white middle class, clearly means that the elections have been negated as a decision making process. Political decisions can no longer be implemented with a ballot, but with a bullet.

MLK KILLED

On April 4, a bullet went through Martin Luther King's neck. Before the chaos and bewilderment generated by President Johnson's shock tactic statement settled, another even more profound political shock electrified the world and exploded in the black colony. The political apparatus of the colony went into a new phase, thrusting the revolutionaries, radicals, and militants into the front. On April 6, bullets directed for Bobby Seale murdered Little Bobby Hutton and wounded Eldridge Cleaver who was immediately taken to the state penitentiary for life imprisonment. Immobilizing Eldridge Cleaver and destroying his ability to communicate with the political groups he was leading generated a profound state of chaos into the political apparatus of the Bay Area, of Alameda County in particular, where the most advanced political apparatus had been built around the issue of freeing Huey P. Newton.

The national move to decapitate the leadership of the black liberation struggle initiated with the assassination of Martin Luther King had its most powerful impact here in Oakland with the shooting and imprisonment of Eldridge Cleaver. For six months he had worked to build a defense campaign for Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, indicted for murder and attempted murder and awaiting trial on May 6. The powerful political forces he was harnessing into a political apparatus organized around the issue of Huey P. Newton had national and international significance. The attempted assassination and imprisonment of Eldridge Cleaver was directed against the mobilization and coordination of the forces. April 6, the day Eldridge was shot, was exactly one month prior to Huey Newton's trial on May 6. The entire focus of all of his political organizing and direction, the full strength of the movement he had structured and initiated, was directed towards guaranteeing Huey Newton's freedom, and was building up a tremendous momentum towards the opening of Huey Newton's trial.

PATTERN OF OAKLAND PIGS

The attempted assassination of Huey P. Newton in October initiated the move to liquidate the leadership of the Black Panther Party and thereby destroy its organization of the black community. This attempt was totally unsuccessful as the leadership of the Party was actively picked up by Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale when he was released from jail in December. In January, as a warning, the San Francisco gestapo kicked down the door of Eldridge Cleaver's home at 3:30 am and invaded his house with guns drawn without either a search warrant or an arrest warrant. In February, following a massive show of community support for Huey P. Newton at the Free Huey Rally at the Oakland auditorium, the Berkeley gestapo surrounded Bobby Seale's home with shotguns and kicked in his door at 3:30 am, arresting him and his wife on charges of conspiracy to commit murder without either a search warrant or an arrest warrant, and arresting friends of his in the Black Panther Party outside his home. On April 3, the Oakland gestapo raided the St. Augustine's Church in West Oakland where Bobby Seale would lead the black community meetings held by the Black Panther Party. Twenty gestapo armed with shotguns invaded the church but left when they discovered Bobby Seale was not there. During the month of March they had framed up absurd charges attempting to send Bobby to jail in Berkeley municipal court, Oakland municipal court, and in Alameda County superior court. On April 6, Bobby Hutton was murdered, Eldridge Cleaver wounded and arrested, David Hilliard and several other captains and members of the Black Panther Party arrested following a massive attack on the party by the Oakland pigs. And, finally, on April 25, the Chief of the Oakland pigs held a press conference denouncing the Black Panther Party as a threat to the peace and the Peace and Freedom Party as creating anarchy.

PATTERN OF FED. GOVT.

The Federal Government has moved with the speed of lightening against the leadership of the black liberation struggle on a national scale through all the police departments of the cities across the nation in a calculated and systematic plan following the assassination of King. The planned liquidation of the leadership of the Black Panther Party in the Bay Area is a microcosm of what has been done across this country. Following the rebellions initiated by King's assassination across the black colony, in which the police were portrayed as restrained onlookers by the white press, mass arrests, jailings, beatings, and elimination of militant spokesmen and political organizers in the colony were initiated without any coverage by the press. The elimination of King as a national leader, the elimination of scores of political organizers and spokesmen in Boston, Buffalo, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Washington D.C., Oakland and scores of other cities, and the attempted assassination and imprisonment of Eldridge Cleaver and the disruption of the political campaign to liberate Huey P. Newton, followed up with the arrest of Reies Tijerina in New Mexico last week is all one coordinated move to destroy the leadership of the black liberation struggle and its allies.











The most powerful tool developed politically for Huey's defense was the coalition between the Black Panther Party, the Peace and Freedom Party, the Mexican American Community, and the student peace movement represented by the Stop the Draft Week organizing committee. The coalition between the most dynamic and potentially explosive political forces in the mother country and in the colony generated tremendous power to the demands of its participants: FREE HUEY. The attack on Eldridge Cleaver was an attack on the political apparatus he had engineered to support Huey Newton, an attack on the political ideas he had projected and set into motion. The demand for Free Huey had obtained a revolutionary momentum in Alameda County, and plans were in motion to move nationally with this mechanism and this demand. The bullets fired at Eldridge Cleaver were intended to stop this move.

The assassination of Dr. King was a move on a national scale similar to the attempted assassination of Eldridge Cleaver on a local scale; both attacks were against the politics of coalition. Dr. King had also moved to combine powerful forces for change into a single movement against poverty and racism. He had initiated organizing projects in Appalachia among poor whites, had moved to establish an alliance with the leadership of the Mexican American community, and had deepened his struggle from civil rights to peace to an attack on poverty, combining it all into one fight for justice. Reies Tijerina was the Southwest Coordinator of the Poor People's March Dr. King was organizing and his recent arrest on April 27 on trumped up charges for which he was already out on bail only further reveals the national conspiracy to stop the Poor People's March and the coalition activities of colonized peoples.

The attempted assassination of Eldridge Cleaver also indicates a sinister move to deprive the black community of leadership at both ends of the colonial spectrum, from liberal to revolutionary, to wipe out existing national leadership and potential national leadership simultaneously. In this vacuum, much damage can be done to the black nation in this crucial stage of building national organization. The dual moves initiated by the Black Panther Party coordinated by Eldridge Cleaver of merger with SNCC and coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party, of moving to unite with other organizations in the colony working for the same purposes as the Party and to align with other organizations in the mother country working for similar ends portended a move for national leadership. Regardless of the destruction of our leadership cadre and its imprisonment and elimination, the Black Panther Party will move and is moving to assume national leadership in the black liberation struggle because it meets the needs of the black nation. The entire thrust of this attack by the national government of the mother country is to destroy the political leadership of the colony in order to force our people into a confrontation with superior military power at an early stage and to wipe us out with firepower. Removing the militant, radical, and revolutionary leadership of the black community will allow its deceivers and decoys to then come into the colony to co-opt, control, then kill the blacks who remain unorganized and unpolitical.

JAIL OR MURDER

The level on which the national government of the mother country is forced to deal with the political developments in the colony, on the level of assassination and imprisonment, no longer on the level of phony negotiations and pacification, indicates that our struggle has developed an even more powerful threat to the established patterns of exploitation and racism.

The assassination of President Kennedy followed by the assassination of Malcolm X, the assassination of Martin Luther King followed by the attempted assassination of Eldridge Cleaver indicates a definite pattern, a conspiracy of police forces from the local to the international level. In all of these assassinations there has been coordination with the CIA and the local police forces, and an inability to locate the real assassin. The role of the police forces has become one of such high national prominence, one responsible for executing top-level national policy. With the national decision making activity of the mother country being carried out by the local police forces, the national defense of the black colony lies in the Black Panther Party, its Ten Point Program, and its focus on the activities of the police.

BULLET SILENCES

The right-wing fascist element of this mother country madness has one outstanding political drawback: it cannot produce any charismatic or brilliant orators to advance its cause. These above mentioned four victims of police assassination plots had one thing in common with each other: they were all brilliant orators. The bullet has been called in to silence the oratory of the political leaders from the white liberal to black revolutionary arenas as well as destroy their political work. The price of speaking the truth, or even beautiful and inspiring lies, has become murder. These are political decisions made and implemented with the bullet.

LBJ THROUGHOUT

During all these assassination plots, LBJ has been President and benefactor. LBJ is a President notorious to unbelievable proportions for his outright corruption and high-level gangsterism. The pattern of assassination falls at his doorstep, on the front door of the White House. True, political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' The only question is whose politics: Huey P. Newton's or LBJ's? Power to the pigs or power to the people? Martin Luther King and Eldridge Cleaver both stood for power to the people. One was a minister of the church, the other a minister of the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party will prevail.

-*Kathleen Cleaver*

JUNE 13 Last Day to Buy Guns & Ammo



Eldridge Cleaver



for PRESIDENT







KATHLEEN CLEAVER for Assemblywoman

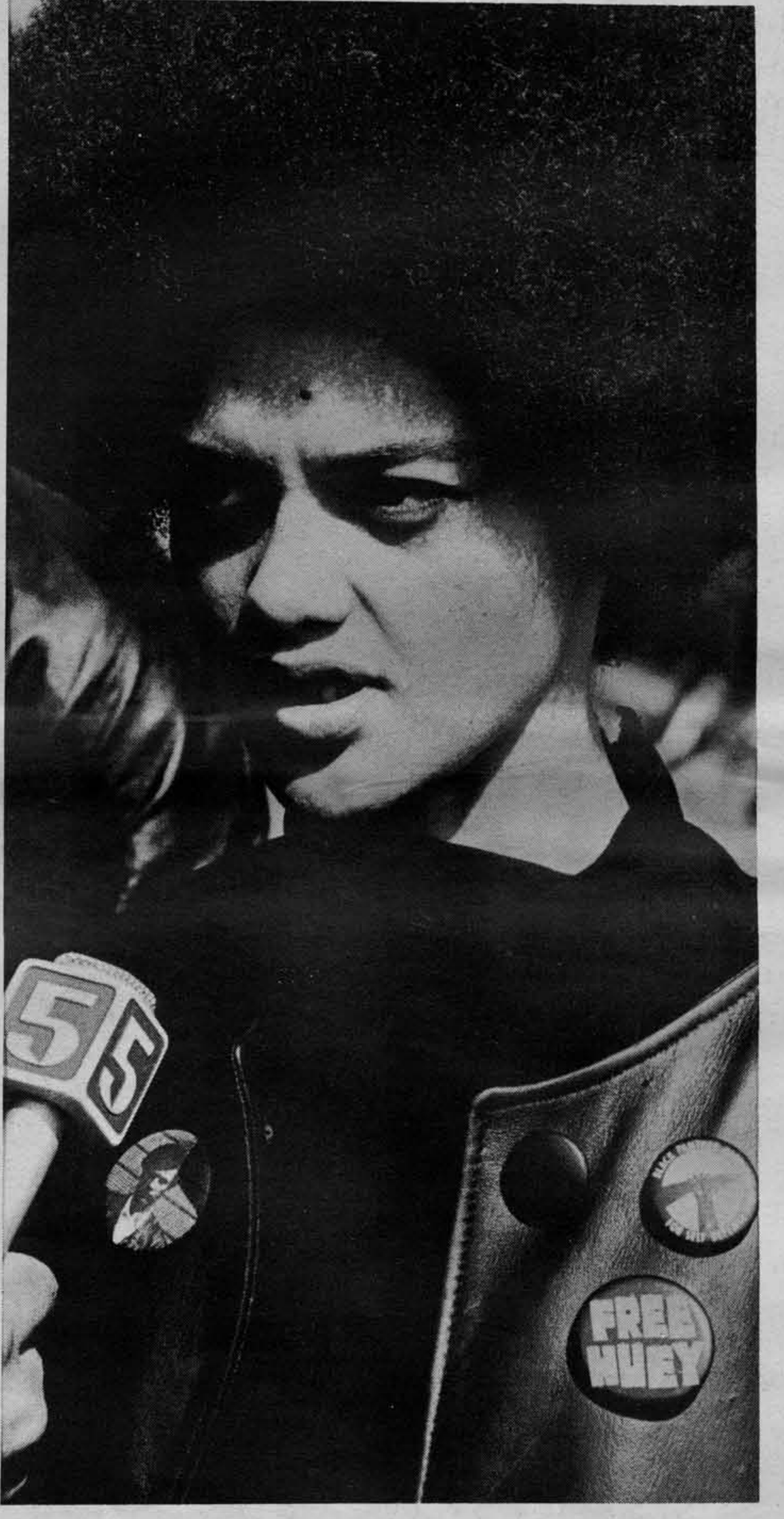
18th DISTRICT

San Francisco, Calif.

Assemblyman Willie Brown on the issue of

- Huey P. Newton
- Eldridge Cleaver
- All Black Political Prisoners
- Concentration Camps





The campaign of Kathleen Cleaver as a Black Panther Party candidate for the 18th Assembly District was originated as an arm of the defense we were waging to free Huey P. Newton. Willie Brown, the incumbent Representative supposed to represent the political desires and needs of the Black people, failed abysmally to relate to the issues in Huey P. Newton's case. The Black Panther Party decided that the lack on the part of Willie Brown, representing the Democratic Party, was an insult to the integrity and security of the Black Community.

Eldridge Cleaver, our Minister of Information, initiated the candidacy of Kathleen Cleaver for the 18th Assembly District seat as an attack against the Democratic Party and its representative, Willie Brown as a consequence of his inaction.

Following the attempted assassination and immediate imprisonment of Eldridge Cleaver and seven other members of the Black Panther Party on the night of April 6, Willie Brown again adamantly refused to make a public statement or take a political stand on the basic issues facing the Black Community. In his failure to speak out against the slaughter by the police, Willie Brown, representing the Democratic Party, has consistently refused to relate to the issues of police harassment, intimidation, murder and the lawless violence directed against Black people. As a Black lawyer and a Black political leader, his failure to take a stand on the attacks on Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, Bobby Hutton, and the entire Black Panther Party makes him irrelevant and obstructive to the Black Community.

The active participation in the Kennedy machine by Assemblyman Willie Brown reveals his total lack of concern for the welfare of Black people by actively working to gain their support for the true killer of their dreams. Bobby Kennedy, representing the most conniving, cynical and wolfish leadership in the Democratic machine, is an outright enemy of Black people, an outright supporter of racism and police violence. Along with Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, Senator Robert Kennedy co-authored the anti-riot legislation of the recently passed Civil Rights Bill. This legislation gives the Federal Government full powers to initiate total repression by the police departments of the Black militant leadership. This legislation supports and expands the attacks such as the Black Panther Party has been most viciously subjected to and the Black militant leadership has suffered following the assassination of King. The Black Panther Party denounces Bobby Kennedy as an outright racist, a neo fascist and a vicious dog. The Black Panther Party denounces Willie Brown for supporting his candidacy. The Black Panther Party has every intention of destroying the hold of the Democratic machine in the Black Community. It is carrying this out by running its Communications Secretary, Kathleen Cleaver in the 18th Assembly District on the Peace & Freedom Party ticket.

The illegal and highly irregular violation of the parole and therefore imprisonment for three years of Eldridge Cleaver has intensified the impetus and direction of this campaign. The refusal of Willie Brown, bootlicker that he is, to speak out against the incarceration of the most profound political spokesman in the Bay Area at this time reveals his even greater incompetence and unwillingness to meet the needs of the Black Community. If Willie Brown can be so unconcerned with one of his constituents such as Eldridge Cleaver, how much can he be concerned about all of his Black constituents in the Fillmore?

The 10 point program of the Black Panther Party is the basis of our campaign. The generous support we have received from all segments of the Bay Area Community, both Black and white, indicates the powerful leadership that we have exerted and we will weigh this leadership against Sacramento in order to free the political prisoners, Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, and further the liberation of the Black Community by any means necessary. We challenge Willie Brown to the contest - power to the people and Black power to the Black people.

Huey Newton



7th Dist.

for Congress

BOBBY SEALE

For State Assemblyman

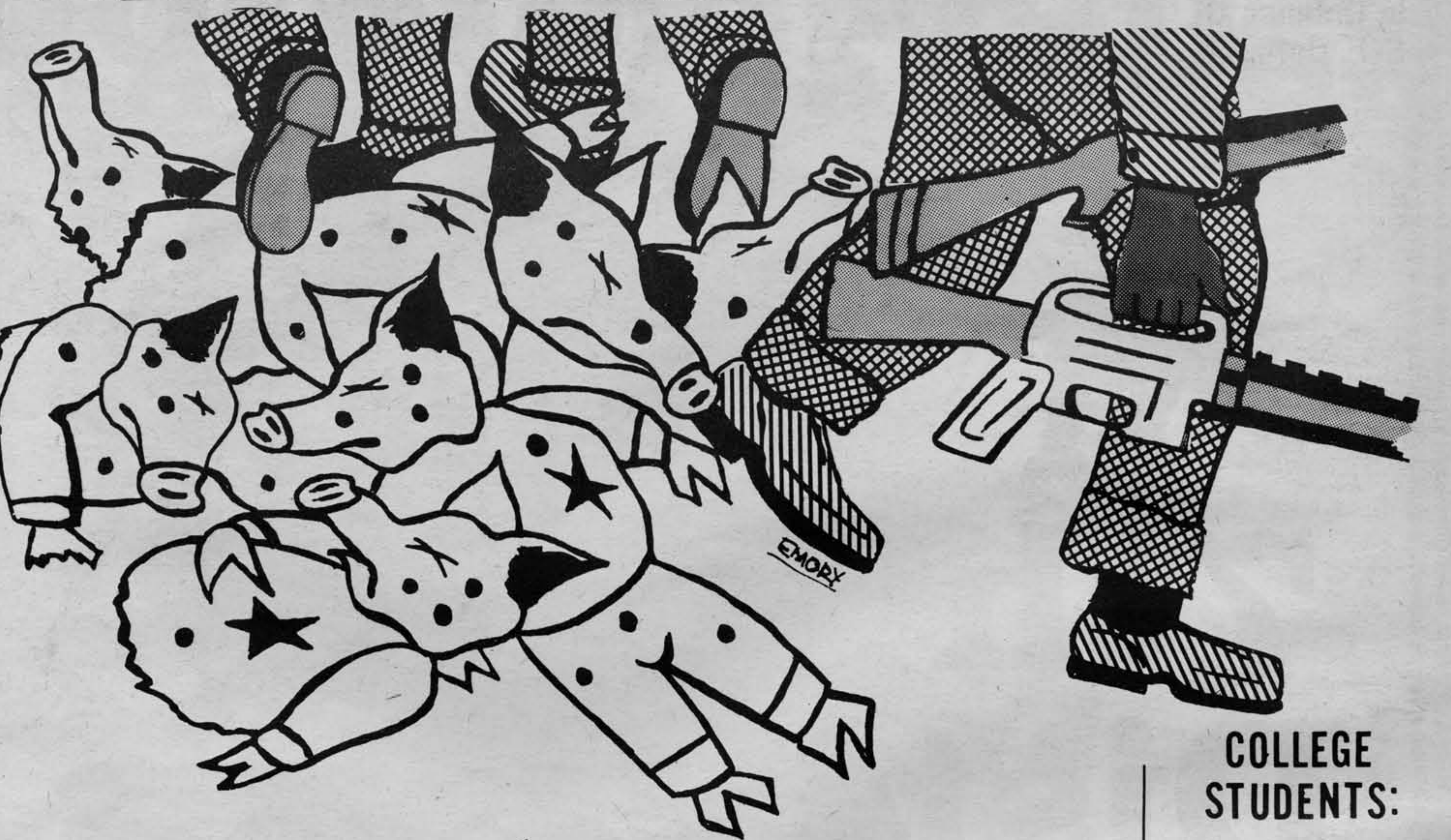
17th District



Alameda Co.

THER May 18, 1968 Page 20

EDUCATION



Revolutionary Art / Black Liberation

Besides fighting the enemy, the Black Panther Party is doing propaganda among the masses of black people--

The form of propaganda I'm about to refer to is called art, such as painting, sketching, etc.--

ART AS REVOLUTION

The Black Panther Party calls it revolutionary art--this kind of art enlightens the party to continue its vigorous attack against the enemy, as well as educate the masses of black people--we do this by showing them through pictures--"The Correct Handling of the Revolution."

BRIDGES BLOWN UP

We, the Black Panther artists, draw deadly pictures of the enemy --pictures that show him at his death door or dead--his bridges are blown up in our pictures--his institutions destroyed--and in the end he is lifeless--

We try to create an atmosphere for the vast majority of black people--who aren't readers but activists--through their observation of our work, they feel they have the right to destroy the enemy.

To give you an example of where revolutionary art began--we must focus on a particular people, our brothers, the Vietnamese. In the beginning stages of their struggle against U.S. Imperialism--so as to determine the destiny of their own community--they had no modern technical equipment, such as, tanks, automatic weapons or semi-automatic weapons, etc.

In these days of struggle for Black Liberation, here in America,--we have no modern technical equipment compared to that of our oppressor--going back to Vietnam, as time progressed, the Vietnamese people have the same kind of technical equipment as the U.S. imperialists which also is made by the same manufacturer--

ONE BULLET, 40 PIGS

So, here is where we began to create our revolutionary art--we draw pictures of our brothers with stoner guns with one bullet going through forty pigs taking out their intestines along the way--another brother comes along, rips off their technical equipment; brothers in tanks guarding the black house and the black community--also launching rockets on U.S. military bases--Minister of Justice H. Rap Brown burning America down; he knows she plans to never come around; Prime Minister of Colonized Afro-America Stokely Carmichael with handgrenade in hand pointed at the Statue of Liberty; preaching we must have undying love for our people; LeRoi Jones asking, "Who will survive America?" "Black people will survive America"--taking what they want--Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton defending the black community--two pigs down two less to go.

STANDARD OIL MOLOTOVS

We draw pictures that show Standard Oil in milk bottles launched at Rockefeller with the wicks made of cloth from I Magnin and J Magnin--pictures of Chinese fire works in gunpowder form aimed at the heart of the enemy--Bank of America--pictures of pigs hanging by their tongues wrapped with barbed wire connected to your local power plant.

This is revolutionary art--pigs lying in alley ways of the colony dead with their eyes gouged out--autopsy showing cause of death: "They fail to see that majority rules." Pictures we draw show them choking to death from their inhuman ways--these are the kinds of pictures revolutionary artists draw--.

The Viet Cong stabbing him in his brain--black people taking the hearts of the enemy and hanging the hearts on the wall (put one more notch on our knife) skin them alive and make rugs out of them--

We must draw pictures of Southern cracker Wallace with cancer of the mouth that he got from his dead witch's uterus--

Pictures that show black people kicking down prison gates--sniping bombers shooting down helicopters police mayors governors senators assemblymen congressmen firemen newsmen businessmen Americans--●

"We shall conquer without a doubt"--
revolutionary artist--Emory

MINISTER OF EDUCATION

For us, education must be defined as the way to bring us out of our problems, and since the Black Panther Party exists as a vanguard front organization to create a black community with a sense of nationhood across the world, with the rest of the black men and the world, we must have an action program which teaches black people, teaches our brothers and sisters, fathers, and mothers, all of us what we can do in the world, and how to do it. We can create a black world, a black nation, a black city, a black community, a black school. We can. The way we can make our thing happen is through organized violence and more violence. We must.

But if our action is to be organized, it must be around principles, facts, the day-to-day happenings in our community. That is what our education must be about. When we take a policeman, major businessman or senator out of the world, we are educating ourselves and the people like us. When we free Huey, we will have educated ourselves some more. When we break into the county jails and state prisons, take out our brothers and give them a gun and the red book which we will make black, we are educating ourselves and our brothers.

The reason we need this education is that we must again have a few agreed - upon principles, ideas, images, feelings, which we accept as correct, revealing, direct and violent.

For instance, the Black Panther Party must be a people's party, our black areas or cells must be of and for the people of that block, not the section leader or subsection leader. The Black Panther is a people's symbol, not a symbol for twenty or thirty individuals. That is one educational principal, all of us must be for the children of West Oakland, young black people of North Richmond, the people of Hunter's Point, all of us.

Another principle which we agree upon is that the racist dog police (black or white) stop their wanton murder and brutalizing of black people or suffer the wrath of the armed black community, as was stated by the Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton.

A third principle we must agree upon and organize to bring about is the control and ownership of schools and all other so-called public buildings in our communities. We, all black people, can and must determine what our children, sisters, and brothers are taught in these fascist, cracker jack box freak factories. We must set up black qualifications for teachers and only permit those to remain who can groove, instruct, teach in a black vein. Therefore, they must be black. Check this: In most cities where black people are located, the school board is pure white, even where it is 1 or 2 Negroes as in Oakland, the board is still honkeys and must be wiped out. How? After organizing the community so that a lot of our people understand this necessity, we give honkies 24 hours to relinquish control, we pull a city-wide coup (pronounced cooh), that is take over all schools in the black communities in the name of black people in the spirit of Malcolm X, Huey P. Newton, Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, the Viet Cong, and black guerillas in Southern Rhodesia, and baptise these schools in the already-shedded blood of our people and our revolutionary heroes. Again we will be learning through doing. We learn warfare through warfare. We learn how to kill through killing each time, the method that we use gets more uptight.

The Minister of Defense says that human behavior is learned behavior through direct or indirect experiences. We agree. We must teach black people how to kill their oppressors completely, wholely, resolutely, thoroughly. We are talking about education. We learn from each other, but we must teach the people and learn from the people, so that together we can create a means to liberate the colonized black nation in America and free the people everywhere. Power to the people and black power to black people.●

George Murray,
Minister of Education

COLLEGE STUDENTS: 'COME HOME'

All Black Students Unions and organizations should and must have an off-campus program for the members of the black community. The black college student does not have a good image in or relation to the black community. This is due to the lack of activities and projects in the community, due to tendency of blacks to become and remain removed and aloof from the communities once they "make it" to college. The college campus is a part of the white community and it is ridiculous to think of having any type of black political-economical power on campus until the full support of the community is enlisted.

FED UP WITH TV MILITANTS

The community is fed up with militant college students on television explaining how positively they relate to the black community and their "work" in the community. When the community needs college students we are not there. The students in the BSU's have a great deal of skills and information. We need information centers in the community to assist and inform welfare recipients of their rights, more tutorial projects for children, black History courses, recruitment of high school students into black studies college curriculum. BSUs must begin to work in predominantly black elementary, junior high, and high schools, as well as the continuation schools for dropouts. They must also begin to work toward establishing BSUs on Black high school campuses and also toward implementing Black Studies curricula.

SKILLS AND SUPPORT

Community organizations need our skills and our support in order to keep them enlightened and from being used and misused by the white racists who control the community. The basic function of students in the community is to give the brothers and sisters there information and some positive alternatives.

The Black Panther Party is a black people's party, in need of the skills and support from all the Black Students Unions throughout the nation. Student groups must work diligently to support the party in all its endeavors. The Black Panther Party and the Black Student Unions must be able to communicate with each other and with the community on all levels and at all times.●

Clarence Thomas
BPP Campus Coordinator

In Defense Of Self Defense



cont. fr. pg. 13, col 1

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational process. How can you teach a people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above the ground as long as the dog power structure will allow , and hopefully when the party is forced to go underground the message of the party will already have been put out across to the people. The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be short-lived. This is why it is important that the party make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy. At this time the people know the party exists and they will seek out further information on the activities of this underground party.

Many would-be revolutionaries work under the fallacious illusion that the vanguard party is to be a secret organization that the power structure knows nothing about, and the masses know nothing about, except for occasional letters that come to their homes by night. Underground parties cannot distribute leaflets announcing an underground meeting. These are contradictions and inconsistencies of the so-called revolutionaries. The so-called revolutionaries are in fact afraid of the very danger that they are advocating for the people. These so-called revolutionaries want the people to say what they themselves are afraid to do. This makes the so-called revolutionary a coward and a hypocrite.

If these impostors would investigate the history of revolution, they would see that the vanguard group always starts out above the ground and is later driven underground by the aggressor. The Cuban Revolution exemplifies this fact: when Fidel Castro started to resist the butcher Batista and the America running dogs, he started by speaking on the campus of the University of Havanna in public. He was later driven to the hills. His impact upon the disposed people of Cuba was very great and received with much respect. When he went into secrecy, Cuban people searched him out. People went to the hills to find him and his band of twelve. Castro handled the revolutionary struggle correctly. If the Chinese Revolution is investigated it will be seen that the Communist Party was quite on the surface so that they would be able to muster support from the masses. There are many areas one can read about to learn the correct approach, such as the Revolution in Kenya, the Algerian Revolution, Fanon's <u>The Wretched of the Earth</u>, the Russian Revolution, the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and a host of others.

A revolutionary must realize that if he is sincere death is imminent due to the fact that the things he is saying and doing are extremely dangerous. Without this realization, it is impossible to proceed as a revolutionary. The masses are constantly looking for a guide, a Messiah, to liberate them from the hands of the oppressor. The vanguard party must exemplify the characteristics of worth leadership. Millions and millions of oppressed people might not know members of the vanguard party personally or directly, but they will gain through an indirect acquaintance the proper strategy for liberation via the mass media and the physical activities of the party. It is of prime importance that the vanguard party develop a political organ, such as a newspaper produced by the party, as well as employ strategically revolutionary art and destruction of the oppressor's machinery. For example, Watts. The economy and property of the oppressor was destroyed to such an extent that no matter how the oppressor tried to whitewash the activities of the Black brothers, the real nature and real cause of the activity was communicated to every Black community. For further example, no matter how the oppressor tries to distrot and confuse the message of Brother Stokely Carmichael, Black people all over the country understand it perfectly and welcome it.

The Black Panther Party teaches that in the final analysis the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as handgrenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplifed by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the Black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the avanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increased violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The people never make revolution. The oppressors by their brutal action causes the resistance. So, if things <u>can</u> get worse for oppressed p people, then they will feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the Black communities all across this country. The people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen <u>their resistance struggle</u>.

PIG GAINES TALKS TO PRESS

-CHIEF PIG, OAKLAND PIG DEPARTMENT

CHIEF GAINES

I want to first thank you for coming. What I want to comment about briefly is the shooting incident which took place on April 6th and then talk about some vicious statements made by an attorney? Talk about the Black Panther Party, talk about the Peace and Freedom Party and the conduct of the Oakland Police officers. As you know on April 6th nine Black Panthers ambushed, assaulted with deadly weapons and attempted to murder two Oakland Police officers, namely Officer Richard Jensen and Officer Roland Darnell who sits to my right today. At the time of this incident these two officers were walking and patrolling their beat. The attack upon them was wholely without provocation on the part of those police and wholey unwarranted. Robert Hutton, one of the nine Black Panthers, was killed in the gun battle which was waged against the police following the ambush. Yesterday the Alameda County Grand Jury indicted eight Black Panthers for assault with a deadly weapon and attempted murder as a result of the ambush upon these officers. They found that the police conduct in the death of Robert Hutton was lawful, and to read a part from the statement of the Grand Jury:

CONDONES POLICE MURDER OF HUTTON

"WE find at the time of his arrest Robert Hutton was fully clothed. We find that as the police brought Robert Hutton to the front of the house he broke and ran. We find he did not heed commands to halt and that a single volley of shots from several officers hit Robert Hutton causing his death. WE find that the police conduct in the death of Robert Hutton was lawful."

Up until this time I've not been able to comment upon the incident ------------against the police. I want to do that now. Further I want to set the record straight, as regards the Black Panther Party and their activities and as regards the Peace and Freedom Movement. Finally, I want to comment upon police conduct and about alleged police harassment.

CALLS GARRY LIAR

Now regarding the vicious allegations made against the police officers of the Oakland Police Department since that shooting incident there has been a good deal of sounding off to the TV people and to the press by Mr. Charles Garry, attorney for the Black Panthers, to the effect that the police dept. in Oakland are murderers, that our, my policemen are murderers. His intemperate and false statements have appeared to be designed to agitate and spread false propaganda among the people of this city. Mr. Garry's statements that the police are murderers have been a disservice, a very very serious disservice, because they appear to have been designed to arouse a lot of people who are uninformed, particularly the dedicated peaceful Negroes in this city.

Now as to the Black Panther Party: The Black Panther Party poses a real threat to the peace and tranquility of the city of Oakland. Calling the police murderers, calling them Fascist pigs, and demanding that police do not protect and police the minority communities is ridiculous on its face. It is both ridiculous and it is irrational. The Black Panther Party has no practical implemental program to my knowledge and it's about time all persons in the city of Oakland both black and white recognize the Black Panther Party for what it is, and let them know that the people of this city are not going to tolerate their unlawful activities and their irrationality. This must be done if we are going to have peace in this city.

As regards the Peace and Freedom Party, a movement. The Peace and Freedom Movement, which has aligned itself with the Black Panthers, endeavors to create chaos and anarchy in the city of Oakland by their unlawful demonstrations, illegal, attempted parades, and other activities. Again the people of this community, both black and white, should recognize that organization for what it is, and let them know that their activities will not be tolerated. There has been many people in this city or have been many people in this city who have maligned the police department, who have through some Mormon sentimentality? or other reasons sympathized with the Black Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Movement and what real evidence is there to cause people to be so sick as to do that aligning.



ATTACKS PANTHER POSTERS

Let's take a look, focus upon this (drawing showing brother and napalm recipe) put out by the Black Panther Party. They say they want to defend themselves. Does this gentlemen look like they are doing anything by way of defense? Take a look. Gasoline cans, explosives, rifles, gas masks, material for molotov cocktails. Take a look. Take a look at this long and unjustified shuck that has been put out. Bobby Hutton. They tried to deify one who tried to murder policemen. What do they say on this piece of paper? "A Black man who dedicated his life to defending the Black community from racist oppression was murdered in cold blood by Oakland Police." Ridiculous lies. Ridiculous attempts to create prejudice against the Oakland Police Department. Take a look at the publication put out by the Black Panther Party. "Pigs run amuck!" And show policemen as pigs. That's ridiculous. Take a look at another publication. "Police slaughter Black People" Absolutely undocumented, false, lying statement. Take a look at posters put up on telephone poles throughout this city to deify one who tried to murder policemen. Take a look at this (shows poster of Bobby Hutton).

Now look at police conduct. We have in the city of Oakland over six hundred police officers who by and large day in and day out are dedicated to maintaining peace in this city. They are good excellent policemen. They are professional policemen. And I would say to the people of the city of Oakland it's about time that you looked at your police department; understood it, cooperated with it.

Here is a police officer who typifies the men of this Oakland police department. One who along with Officer Jensen was shot in the back, by these attempted murderers. Take a look at him, people. Because this is the guy who is maintaining peace in this city.

'SUPPORT THE PIGS'

I will not tolerate misconduct by my police officers and they know it. But what I say is this we've got to grant Oakland police officers being upright individuals that they are. And when it can be documented they conduct themselves improperly I will take appropriate action. But again what is at stake here is a piece of this city. Let's straighten out our thinking. And let's align with the police department. Support it. Cooperate with it. And understand it. And only when it does something wrong that can be documented try to take it apart.

Q. Mr. Gains would you explain exactly what happened the night of this argumented gun battle. We've got no story from the police department.

A. You have no story.

Q. Not really, no.

A. Officer Jensen and Darell were patrolling their beats on 28th St. As they were driving along the street they saw an individual and they saw vehicles under circumstances which gave them the right of enquiry. Particularly one individual stepped out upon their approach. A filled up car with an out of state license plate. The conduct of the individual who ducked down, a car with an out-of-state plate gave them ------------ reasons to inquire as to what was going on. They didn't have a chance to inquire. When they stopped, Officer Jensen who was the passenger officer didn't have a chance to get out of the car before a volley of shots came at him and shot him and hit him in the back. Officer Darnell tried to get out of his car and he was cut down by fire.

Now that's as far as they got. They were assaulted with deadly weapons. There was an attempt to murder them. That's exactly what occured. They then of course had to undertake gun firing themselves. There was an ensuing gun battle against the police in a house on 28th St. And that is about what happened. The police conduct was totally lawful.

Q. Both officers were able to return fire although they were wounded themselves.

A. Officer Darnell was able to. Officer Jensen as I recall did not fire a shot.

Q. Is that correct?

A. (Reply muffled)

Q. Do you know what calliber or what kinds of weapons were used against the two officers.

A. Certainly, we know. We know that they used automatic rifles. They used rifles and a massive number of them against these officers.

Q. They were wounded with bullets rather than shotgun pellets?

A. They were both wounded from ammunition, from guns.

Q. One of the claims that the Panthers make is that one of their number Eldridge Cleaver was completely nude unarmed when he came out and he was shot. Do you have any word on this?

A. I don't want to comment any further on that case. It's now going before trial. I gave you a summary of what occurred and I have no further comments about it.

Q. (Muffled question)

A. This is already printed Jim and you have it.

Q. Would it be out of order to ask how many officers finally arrived at the scene of this shut-up?

A. Many officers arrived. Thirty or more.

Q. I believe you said a moment ago that Hutton was killed in a gun battle. Reports are that Hutton was killed in the attempt to surrender and he disobeyed police instructions.

A. I just read to you a statement from the Grand Jury which I thought was very explicit and very clear.

Q. There was one point in that letter from the Grand Jury would you give us?

A. I'll comment no further, Mr. Williams.

Q. (Mr. Williams apparently tried to say something.)

A. No further comment, Mr. Williams. I think that it covers it adequately.

Q. What conditions in the relationship between the ghetto community and the police department would give rise to such an organization as the Black Panthers, which really Negroes in the community don't want either, but what conditions would give rise to this kind of group?

cont. next page



PIG GAINES

A. Well, I have typified their programs as irrational, and I still say what gives rise to them is irrational thinking, that's exactly what gives rise to a movement such as the Black Panthers or the Peace and Freedom Movement.

Q. Do you think that the police department needs to do a community relations job at all, do anything different than what it has been doing in the Negro community?

A. The police department must constantly review its programs as regards community relations, do everything it can to bring about satisfactory interpersonal relationships. WE are doing it now; we'll continue to do it. Absolutely I'm not saying that we haven't got a lot of things to do. WE'll find day after day, month after month that we have and we will do them.

Q. How do you assess the strength of the Black Panther Party in the ghetto?

A. No comment.

Q. Chief, the Black Panthers have said that the p-----------------, they keep harassing the Panthers, is there any basis for this?

A. They make statements about police harassment. I have yet to see documentation with regard to them or any other person in this city. If I can see documentation as I stated I will not condone improper conduct and I'll take action. What we have taking place is a lot of statements without support, without documentation, and that should end..It's ridiculous, because as I said, people are creating prejudice against this police department, and a lot of it deliberately.

Q. Chief, you rather strongly attacked the Peace and Freedom Party. Assuming that a great many Americans don't like the way the members of the party dress or comport themselves, you nevertheless attacked them as trying to create chaos and anarchy...you said their activities would not be tolerated. Were you specifically saying that people who object to (government) in this municipality are to be coerced?

A. I didn't say that at all. I ----- what I said by their unlawful demonstrations their unlawful parades and so on, that's what I said.

Q. Chief, if I may digress for one moment, on the other side of the bay Chief Tom Cahill has said that he is cutting back the use of Mace on demonstrators and prisoners until such time as they find out what effect Mace does have on the eyes. Is there any plans in Oakland for the Oakland police to possibly cut back on the use of Mace?

A. Absolutely not. Before we undertook the use of Mace, we researched it, we tried it ourselves in an experimental way, we got statements from doctors, and to my knowledge to this day, Mace is a non-injurious humane device. We will use it until it's proven otherwise and if there's any indication at any time that Mace is a harmful thing which should not be used we will not use it.

Q. Chief Gaines, can you explain why information like how many bullets shot Hutton, why this kind of information is kept secret, I can't understand why it would jeopardize the case; can you explain why it would jeopardize the case?

A. I read the pertinent part of the Grand Jury statement, what I thought was the pertinent part of the Grand Jury statement, but here's a sentence out of that Grand Jury finding:

"WE find in the autopsy and criminalist examinations that Robert Hutton was hit with five shots."

Thank you very much.

Q. Chief Gaines, an organization of whites has now been formed called the Home Defense Association. Can you comment on this?

A. Yes, I will. Yesterday, I asked Mr. Clark to come to my office, and I discussed with him that organization. I specifically discussed with him a meeting which had taken place the night before and statements that he had made. One statement for example that he made was that the Oakland police department indicated that it would send officers out to train members of that organization in the use and care of weapons. That was a lie. WE did not make that offer, and we will not, we will not in any way cooperate with that organization. I see nothing healthy about it; I see it as a vigilante group; I see them in opposition to the Negro community. To me it is intolerable. WE will cooperate with any person - or any group - who has worthwhile objectives but I do not see that organization as being one.

Q. Are they not on the verge of breaking a law?

A. I can't comment on that. I will comment on this, that if they do operate outside of the rule of law as regards the carrying of weapons or any other type conduct, immediate police action will be taken against them.

Q. Chief, what about officers acting privately with this organization. How would you regard that?

A. It is my thinking that officers will not act in regard to that organization in any capacity whether on or off duty.

Q. Chief, can you tell me you've mentioned many of the statements of the Black Panther Attorney Charles Garry and you call them vicious allegations and possibly provoking a riot. Is your office looking into these allegations and could any legal action be brought against them for provoking a riot?

A. I don't think I used the word provoking a riot; I read verbatim on that and I'll make no further comment regarding...

Q. I think it was "agitating."

A. I'll make no further comment other than that which I read.

Q. Chief Gaines, does your department support a genuinely strong gun control bill, nationwide, which would make it difficult for black and white or anybody else to get guns in private housing?

A. I have no objection nor have I any design to do anything from keeping people from their constitutional right to bear arms and statutory rights.

Q. Is your statement that the police enforcing job would not be made easier if there were gun control laws?

A. I didn't say that. You mentioned about people having guns in their homes and I responded to that specific question.

Q. How about -----------

A. Pardon me.

Q. How about mail order guns?

A. Mail order guns I-I think are-are not a healthy thing.

Q. Uh, I'd like to go through that again. (laughter) If people do not have guns in their houses--

cont. pg. 25, col. 1

The Spirit Of The Panther Is Stronger Than The Man's Jails



CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE

The power structure of Alameda County, Calif. is attempting to put Chairman Bobby Seale behind bars. This is a continuation of the conspiracy to destroy the leadership of the Black Panther Party.

Bobby is charged with carrying a gun on grounds adjacent to a jail. The law that he is charged with is a seldom invoked, archaic, obscure law that was established in the 18th century. The statute was established with the intent of discouraging persons from trying to smuggle guns into a jail.

Bobby had been inside the jail and was waiting outside on the steps of the jail for friends to pick him up when 12 pigs descended upon him, checked his weapon, and then without giving any admonishment, left and let him leave the scene also. The next day Bobby was arrested and charged with breaking the century old law. Since Bobby had been inside the jail and was waiting to leave the area, it should be obvious that he had no intention of smuggling a gun into the jail.

Evidently the intention of law is overlooked when the law is being used to persecute black people. The District Attorney even contended that a duck hunter (white of course) would not be guilty if caught near a jail. But Bobby Seale would be guilty, he said. (Because he is black)

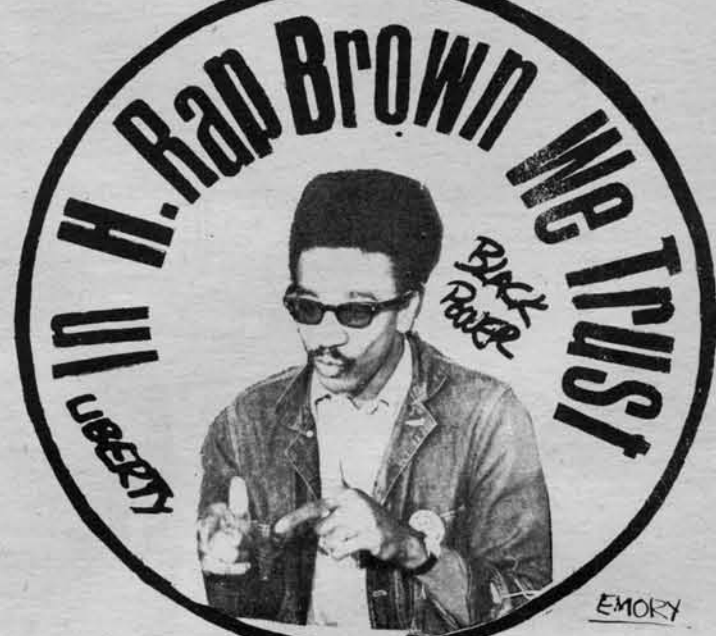
When Attorney Garry pointed out that the statute limits a citizens right to bear arms, the District Attorney said, "Every penal code is a limitation on the Constitution, and the people of the State of California have expressed through the legislature the overriding of that right. If this is so, the white racist citizens and legislators have taken the law into their hands and twisted justice to fit the needs of their racist oppression.

●●●●

How can we protest this injustice? We should write letters attesting to the moral character of Chairman Seale which protest the arrest and demand an appeal and appeal bond.

Write\Send Letters of Protest to

Redmond C. Staats
Alameda County
Superior Court
Oakland, California



MINISTER OF JUSTICE

Black Panther Minister of Justice H. Rap Brown is on trial in New Orleans, alleged to have violated an obscure federal statute which prohibits a man who is under indictment from carrying a gun. If convicted, he could be sentenced to five years in prison.

This gun charge is just one of several crimes of which Brown is accused. All of the charges grow out of his arrest for "counseling to arson" and "inciting to riot" after he gave a SPEECH in Cambridge, Maryland last July. A suppressed section of the government's own Kerner Commission report has completely exonerated Brown from any guilt whatsoever of the "arson" and "riot" charges. But he still must stand trial on them - and on the other charges of which the gun charge is one, stemming from this basic indictment.

The gun charge was brought against Brown last August, after he had made a trip to Louisiana to visit his mother. The government charges that he carried a rifle, which it is conceded, was openly checked with Eastern Air lines. The statute on which he was arrested stands in clear violation of our Bill of Rights which guarantees the right to bear arms to every citizen.. It also violates the basic right of a person accused of a crime to be presumed innocent until he is proven guilty. In fact it is the only statute on the books which makes a crime of an innocent act performed by a man alleged to have broken a law.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

Hold protest demonstrations on your campus/in your community, picket federal buildings and demand the Justice Dept. to drop the gun charges, and halt the persecution of Brown.

Send telegrams and letters of protest to Att. Gen. Ramsey Clark, Justice Dept. Washington, D.C.

Complain to your local press about distorted coverage - or lack of coverage. Write letters to the ed.

RAISE MONEY, RAISE MONEY, and send it to

H. RAP BROWN DEFENSE FUND
c/o SNCC,
360 Nelson St., SW
Atlanta, Georgia

cont. pg. 26 col. 1

cont. fr. pg. 10, col. 1

BLACK INFORMATION

THE POLICE

These strong-arm men, the police, are there to see to it that we don't budge. The law and order they are hired to enforce is designed to insure that the political control and the economic exploitation continues undisturbed. They are there to stop black people from organizing themselves to move against these conditions and improve their lives, and when we move anyway, in spite of the efforts of the police, we are labelled by the lying propaganda men, who are also on the payroll of those who own and control everything, as rioters, looters, and criminal troublemakers.

Must Move Anyway

We must move anyway. We have no choice. The survival of our people depends upon our moving, demands that we move. By struggling against these conditions, we are doing nothing more nor less than continuing the struggle of our ancestors, of the generations of black people who have struggled up from slavery. And we are reaching the end of our people's long, hard struggle, because the end is in sight. We know what we want and need and must have: the power to determine the destiny of our own black communities. And we know what we must do in order to possess that power: organize ourselves into an organization that we ourselves control, that is not controlled either by outsiders or their lackies. It was for this purpose, and this purpose alone, that Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale got together and organized the Black Panther Party. It belongs to you, black people. Join it and employ it as a tool to liberate our communities, to link our liberated communities together, to unite our liberated and linked-together communities into a nation-wide force, and in the process of doing that we will have won many victories along the way, we will have become a powerful and uptight people, and as cool as we are, as jive as we are, as beautiful as we are, we will be out of sight! And you won't find nobody on the face of the planet earth crazy enough, fool enough, to be messing with us. ■

cont. fr. pg. 11, col. 4

Chrm. MAO

perialism, which commits aggression abroad and subjects the people at home to oppression and exploitation, is the common eneemy of the people in the United States and throughout the world. In their fight against this most ferocious common enemy, the Black Americans, the Vietnamese people and all the oppressed people of the world support and encourage each other. Each and every hammer blow delivered by the valiant Vietnamese people at the U.S. aggressor is a great support to the world's revolutionary people including the Afro - Americans; and the heroic struggle of the Afro-Americans has also been a powerful support to the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle of the Vietnamese people and the people of the whole world. They are comrades-in-arms fighting shoulder to shoulder on the same front, and victory on any sector of the battlefield will push the whole anti-U.S. struggle towards victory forward.

The U.S. ruling circles have always resorted to the counter-revolutionary two-faced tactics of bloody suppression and political deception in dealing with the Afro-American struggle. In face of the current storm of struggle raging throughout the United States, the panicky U.S. ruling circles moved out 50,000 to 60,000 troops and police, as well as tanks, armoured cars and helicopters, to suppress the Black masses. Many were killed, thousands were wounded and more than 20,000 were arrested. At the same time, the U.S. ruling circles dished up a "civil rights" law in an attempt to pacify the Afro-Americans with the empty promise about the so-called prohibition of racial discrimination against Afro-Americans in housing.

However, it is futile for the U.S. ruling circles to try to stamp out, by means of counter-revolutionary two-faced tactics, the raging struggle of the Afro-Americans who are becoming more awakened every day. The masses of Afro-Americans will not be intimidated by fascist suppression, nor will they be deceived by cajolery. The vigorous development of the Afro-American struggle against violent repression in the last few years is adequate proof of this, and future developments will continue to bear testimony to this fact.

In his latest "Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression," Chairman Mao points out: "The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The Black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro - American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class."

Chairman Mao's statement was widely and warmly hailed by Afro-Americans and people throughout the world.

Commenting on it, Afro-American leader Robert Williams said: "Chairman Mao's latest statement in support of the Afro-American people's struggle will inspire our people to greater resistance...I am sure that Chairman Mao's statement will encourage the struggling people and the just-minded people throughout the world to give more support to our struggle."

The force of more than 20 million Afro-Americans is invincible. With the support of the revolutionary people of the world and fighting shoulder to shoulder with the white working people of the United States, the Afro-American people will eventually smash their shackles, bury the U.S. imperialist system and achieve complete emancipation for themselves.

O O O O O O O O O O

cont. fr. pg. 23, col. 1

PIG GAINES

A. I don't think Idon't think that follows at all. Under the Constitution the people have a right to bear arms to have guns in their homes and I take no exception to that.

Q. Uh. uh Chief, there's still something about this Grand Jury report that I don't entirely understand; we find that as the police brought Robert Hutton to a part of the house he broke and ran. Uh, did the police bring him to the front door of the house or did he come to the front door of the house? Were the police inside with him at that time?

A. Mr. Mann, I do not want to comment upon that any more than I have. I do not feel it would be proper for me to do so; I think enough has been said by me and we've heard enough of the Grand Jury statement to make it quite clear; the statements have to come from someone other than me.

Q. Chief, this new vigilante type group, the Home Defense Association, it is rumored that their flyers have been posted on the patrolmen's bulletinboard in the Oakland police department and that at least some few officers have expressed an interest in helping this group get organized. Would you view officers who participate in an organization like this as subject to disciplinary action?

A. I would have to do more thinking about it, Mr. Williams. Uh as far as disciplinary action: officers do have constitutional rights as we know. I would not look upon their participating and joining with favor and I would do everything that I could to prohibit it. As regards (interruption) -- if I may -- as regards this rumor that this thing is posted this flyer, if it is posted I'll tell you this, I'll personally tear it down and it will not be posted again.

Q. Chief, may we ask what might be in store today and tomorrow as far as the Peace and Freedom Party and the anti-draft demonstrators?

A. The only thing I know at this time is that it is stated by flyers and other things that there's going to be a demonstration. Our posture in regard to that is this: If people want to demonstrate lawfully within this city, we will protect them and guarantee their right to demonstrate. If they demonstrate unlawfully, then we will take appropriate law enforcement action. O O O O O O

cont. from pg. 2, col. 3

BALDWIN TALK

357 MAGNUM

Chairman Seale answered a question concerning firearms. "Every black man should have a shotgun, a 357 magnum or a .38 in his pad to defend it. ...every woman should understand that weapon...." As a response to a question about alliances with African countries, Chairman Seale said, "Africa is still predominately colonialized; the way we free Africa is to free Afro-America; our coalition is through resistance."

James Baldwin discussed a film he is working on which will depict the life of Malcolm X. In replying to a question asking how Malcolm's assassination and assassins will be portrayed Baldwin answered that he was not without power in dealing with film makers and that as a friend of Malcolm he was concerned that the film be accurate. O



ISOLATION WITHIN ISOLATION

He gave me five penicillin pills and four more pills to take at the same time and so I did. I was still nude when they put me back in the hole. Around 12:30 or 1 PM, they brought some more of the mush-like stuff, and I asked them to take it back. That night around 6:30 or 7 PM, they brought me some water and gave me the mattress.

Around 5:30 or 6 AM, the next morning, they came and took the mattress out. About 7:30 they brought me some more of that stuff; I told them to take it back. This is the morning of the 27th.

Around 12:30 or 1 PM, I started to feel the walls closing in on me. I called for the officer and the feeling kept on coming. I asked Wade (another brother being held) to call them for me. The feeling kept growing. I heard Wade call them two or three times. The feeling kept growing and I layed down on the floor and passed out. The next thing I knew, I was at Highland Hospital with handcuffs on my ankles. The doctor said it was a psycho thing. They left two officers there to observe me for five hours, and then took me back to jail with some medicine to take.

Back in jail about 10 PM, the officer said my seizure lasted from 2:10 to 2:50 PM and that it was real bad. He told me that I had to go back to the hole, that Lt. Smith ordered it. So I stripped off my things and went back in, but in about 15 to 20 minutes I had the same feeling again. I called out, and after about 5 minutes, the officers came back and put me in the hospital tank where I spent the night.

The next day they put me back on the same diet and tried to put me back in the hole, but some one called the doctor, and the doctor told them to leave me out.

About 6:30 AM on the 29th an officer came and told me that Lt. Smith was in charge, and he said for me to go to the hole, so I went. I stayed there for about 45 minutes when I started to get the same feeling. I covered my head and layed down. I called for about 15 minutes, but no one came. The feeling was beginning to increase. So I asked Wade to call, and I heard him call twice before I passed out. The next thing I knew I was in Highlands again with handcuffs on my hands and feet. My left hand had a cut from handcuffs. The doctor told me and an officer that my condition was the same as before. The officer told the doctor how I had been acting and the doctor called Lt. Smith after he found out what had happened the first time. The doctor gave me a prescription to be filled and taken with my other medicines. They put me back in the tank.

The next day they put me back in tank A. I was supposed to see a doctor on May 2, 1968, but this was changed to the 6th of May. I did not get my medicine that the doctor had ordered on April 29th until 5:30 on May 2nd. Twice on the 30th of April I did not get my medicine, and I did not get it on on the afternoon of May 2nd. I ran out of medicine cine on May 4th, and none of the officers would get me a refill. They have really been giving me me the run around. Almost every day I have to remind them to give me my medication.

Charles Bursey

RAP

And this law is so little known that neither Brown or his attorneys had ever heard of it untill he was accused of breaking it.

There is no doubt that this unconstitutional gun statute is being used against Rap Brown because of his political activities.

Brown has been systematically persecuted since he became Chairman of SNCC last spring. The government seems determined to keep him from speaking by keeping him in jail -- because he is a symbol and a leader of the militant black movement.

The freedom of all of us is involved in Rap Brown's case. For freedom of speech and the freedom to organize are the issues at stake.

Please -- act now.

FREE HUEY

MARATHON SUNDAY, JUNE 9th

Huey's Trial

9a.m., MONDAY JUNE 10th

Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton's trial on charges of attempted murder and murder of two Oakland policemen is scheduled for Monday, June 10

ALL PERSONS CONCERNED WITH THE ISSUE - FREE HUEY AND FREE ALL BLACK POLITICAL PRISONERS - AND THE ISSUES - FREEDOM, JUSTICE, LIBERATION - SHOULD BE AT THE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE, 1221 FALLON ST., OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, ON THE MORNING OF HUEY NEWTON'S TRIAL.

AN ALL-DAY MARATHON WILL BE HELD JUNE 9, THE SUNDAY BEFORE THE TRIAL BEGINS. CHURCHES, AND OTHER BUILDINGS THROUGHOUT THE BAY AREA WILL BE USED IN THE MARATHON. AT 5 PM, SUNDAY, A MASSIVE MOBILIZATION IS PLANNED AT THE COURTHOUSE.

...Free Huey...

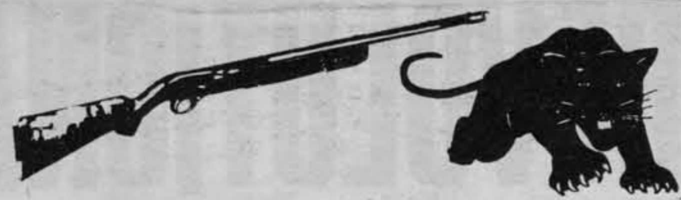
...Free black panthers...

..Free black men...

...and Free us all...

FREE ALL BLACK POLITICAL PRISONERS

POCKET LAWYER of LEGAL FIRST AID



This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes. You should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so). But then do so, and at all times remember the Fifth Amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search - that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped, you should try to get independant witnesses to observe the proceedings, and get their names, addresses, and telephone numbers. Try to do this, if possible, before any arrest takes place.

6. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the po- outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls - one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 654-2003, and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and the Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time ends on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar association of your county) and will furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law. ● ● ● ● ● ●

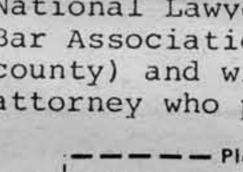
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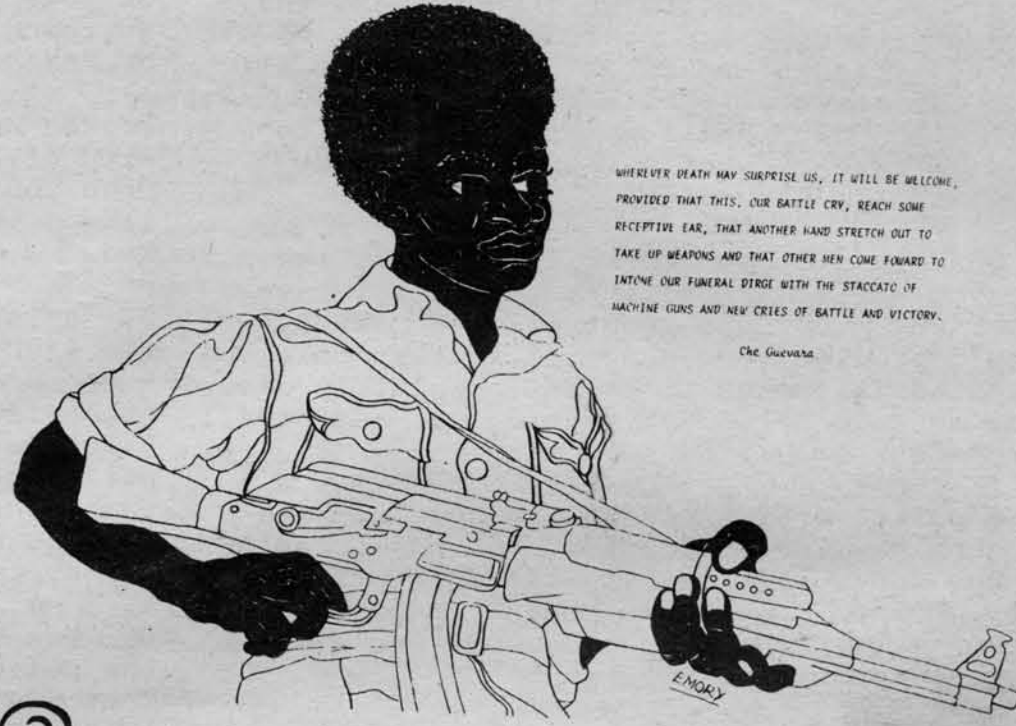


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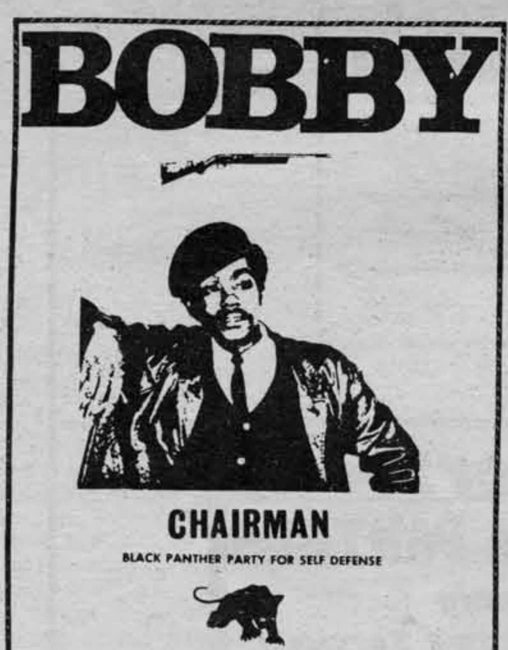
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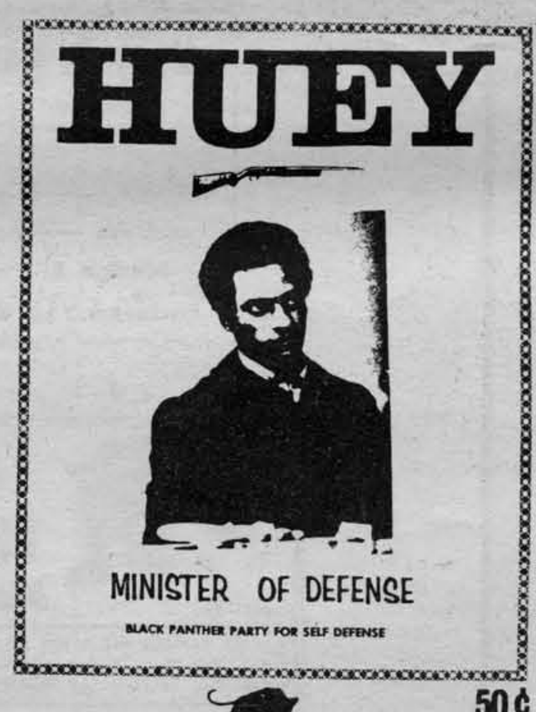
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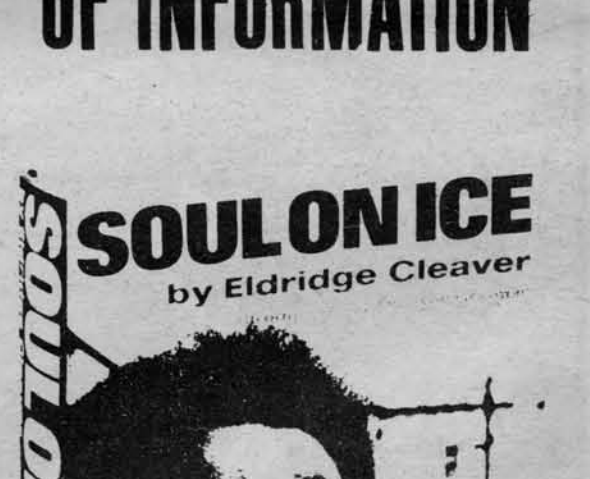
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